

SOME  
HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL ASPECTS  
OF THE  
BURDWAN DISTRICT

WITH  
AN EXPLANATORY INDEX,

BY  
W. B. OLDHAM, C.I.E.,  
OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.



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SOME

## HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL ASPECTS

THE

### BURDWAN DISTRICT.

THE Burdwan district has undergone so many changes of jurisdiction, and suffered so many successive curtailments of area since it first became a British possession in 1760, that any description of its present area and boundaries would, in the present connection, be useless. It is sufficient to preface the following remarks by saying that the western portion of the district is a promontory from Central India, and consists of barren, rocky and rolling country, shut in on the west, north, and south by hills. The rest is a delta, the south-eastern edge of which approaches the sea-board, and is of the most recent formation. The rivers which have worked to form it are the Damodar, the Ajay and the Ganges. The latter, in its efforts to make a channel further to the east, has left long loops of disused channels all along its western bank. The Damodar, after flowing till comparatively recent times in different channels due east through the silt, has broken violently to the south, and is now (in 1889) attempting to burst a course backwards to the south-west. The Ajay, after leaving its rocky bed, flows in the most extraordinarily serpentine course. These features illustrate the recent formation of the land. Fully one-third of the population belongs to the Bagdi caste or tribe, of which Burdwan is the chief locality. Though admitted to the Hindus, the Bagdi are kept in such a state of social thralldom that they have absolutely no share in public life; they are excluded even from the village schools, and it is impossible for one of them to rise to any position of respectability, or to attain even to moderate wealth. Next to them in number is the semi-Aryan caste, the Sadgops, who are more than half as numerous as the Bagdi. No such social or moral barrier encloses them, and many of them occupy high positions. About one-third as strong as the Sadgops are the members of the purely local caste of the Aguris, who have sprung from the Sadgops. The largest section of the population in the west of the district are the Baoris.



tribe still more degraded than the Bagdis. In numbers they come next to the Sadgops, and, like the Bagdis, are a distinctive people. The following remarks discuss the history and position of these four great tribal sections of the population.

2. Burdwan (Vardhamâna) is identified by M. de St. Martin as the Parthalis or Portalis which, according to the Greek geographers, was the royal city of the Gangaridæ or Gangarides. The Damodar is identified by Mr. Wilford as the Andômatis of Arrian, and the Ajay as Arrian's Amystis, with Katwa (Sanskrit, Katadvipa) as his Katadupa. Hunter says that the word Ājay is the Sanskrit Ā-jaya, "not without victory," the unconquered. This seems so obvious that it is very probably erroneous. Mr. Wilford says that Ajay is the ordinary contracted form of the Sanskrit Ajāvati, and the parallel cases of the Cossye, which is certainly Kânsavati, and the Selye, still called Silibati, support him. He also says that the Sanskrit name of the Dammuda, as he calls it, is Dharmadayā. The popular spelling in vernacular is certainly at present Damudar or Damodar; and as the latter is a not inappropriate Sanskrit word, there is no need to go to Dharmadayā. The local people, no matter what their pretensions to literateness, cannot give the slightest help on points like these. They say that the old name for Katwa is Kantanagar. I believe in Kata—or Kanta-dvipa. The Bhagirathi shore does run into islands (*dwipas*) or peninsulas, e.g., Agradwipa and Nabadwipa or Nadia, which are close by.
3. The Gangaridæ or Gangarides were, I have little doubt, mainly composed of the Bagdis, who are still plainly identifiable as the original stratum of the population of the Burdwan district in its deltaic portion, and who are allowed by Hindus of pure Aryan race to represent the great aboriginal section which was admitted within the pale of Hinduism, in distinction from all the rest, whether semi-Hinduized or completely non-Hindu, who are classified as Chuars.
4. The other great stratum is the Bauri caste. But the Bauris, though semi-Hinduized and calling themselves Hindu and so called by their low-caste neighbours, are not admitted to be Hindu by the Hindu Aryans, but are pronounced by them to be unmitigated Chuars. These Bauris are supposed to be a section of the great tribe of the Uberræ mentioned by Megasthenes. This is the purest conjecture. I have always been unable to form any theory of their ethnical origin, beyond recognizing them to be Dravidian, or to connect them with any other tribe or caste. They are, however, plainly the lowest large stratum now to be found in the non-deltaic portion of the district—rather more than



a third of it—which may be called Bauri land, while the remaining large deltaic portion is still more distinctly Bagdi land. The Bagdi are an infinitely purer and more settled race, and possess far better characteristics—mental, physical and moral—than the Bauri. They are also an older settled race, and possess and suggest points of connection with other tribes which are not to be found in the Bauri. While they are undoubtedly the original stratum in Bagdi land, the Bauri are only the lowest stratum now found in large numbers in what I call Bauri land, and in this view they may be dismissed with a few further remarks. Of course, by the Bauri land and Bagdi land of the present Burdwan district, I do not mean the whole country of the Bauri and the Bagdi. But when Burdwan was bestowed on the East India Company in A.D. 1760, it was understood to contain not only the whole of the actual Burdwan zemindari which embraced Hooghly and ran far down into Midnapore, but also the whole of the realms of Bishtupur, Pachet and Birbhum, which the Burdwan Rajas had shortly before subjugated. This territory would include the whole of the modern districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and Bankura, and a great part of Midnapore, Birbhum, Manbhum and the Santal Parganas, and contains the whole of the present Bauri country and the main portion of the Bagdi country. The Bagdi of course are spread across the river far into the Gangetic delta.

c The typical Bauri tract is *pargana* Shergarh, which, except for the small area of *thana* Kaksa, embracing *parganas* Senpahari and Salimpur, is conterminous with the present Raniganj sub-division. *Pargana* Shergarh is the coal-field of Bengal. It is that part of the promontory of Central India which lies between the Ajay and the Damodar, a stretch of rolling rocky country which is still covered for a third of its area with forest, and, before the coal discoveries half a century ago, was a tremendous wilderness, dotted at long intervals by tiny clearings and settlements, and intersected by no great route or road. The only route through it was the Ajay on the north, as is evidenced by the line of forts planted along it on both sides. The only remains of any importance in *pargana* Shergarh are the lovely stone temples at Baigunia on the Barakhar; the beautiful shrine, also of stone, of Kaliyaneshwari, four miles north of the temples; some stone remains round the tank in the Dighi forest, east of Faridpur police-station; the stone fort of Raja Narottam at Churulia on the Ajay; and the mud fort at Dihi Shergarh, the old capital of the *pargana*, on the Damodar. There is no tradition connecting any of these, except the last, with any section of the present population. The oldest residents of Churulia are the Muhammadan *tyrnadars*, who live under



- the fort, and have appropriated its cut stones for their own tombs, mosques, and houses. The Hindus are all quite new settlers. It is very probable that the *aymas* were granted to the Muhammadan soldiery who subdued the holder of the fort, as in the parallel case at Kaksa, to be shortly noticed; but the *aymadars* have no such legend or tradition, nor do they know the origin of the Muhammadan settlement in this remote spot in the wilderness; nor can any one say to what caste even Raja Narottam belonged, beyond assigning him to the Burdwan family, with which he had nothing to do. The stonework at Dighi is similarly ascribed to them. It is far more ancient than any remains of theirs and resembles the Katauri remains in the Santal Parganas.
6. The Dihi Shergarh fort is comparatively modern. It was erected by, and still belongs to, the Rajput house of Pachet, who were, till almost a century ago, the proprietors of *pargana* Shergarh, when Chitra Sen Rai, of the Burdwan family, conquered it from them in about 1742 A.D. They still own a large part of it chiefly as *brahmottar* or *debottar* of different kinds.
  7. The Pathan sovereigns of Birbhum, too, laid hands on the *pargana*, and held it till Chitra Sen wrested it from them. It was a sort of no-man's land,\* for the chiefs of the Pandra *pargana* in Manbhum held part of its north-western portion, though whether as feudatories of Pachet or not is uncertain. All these dominations are still traceable in the constitution of the *ghatwali* police posts which dot the *pargana*. The quit-rent of that at Hadla, close to Kaliyaneshwari's shrine on the Barakhar, is still claimed by Pandra. The *ghatwali* tenure-holders further east claim the protection of Regulation XXIX of 1814, because they were constituted by the Birbhum Rajas. The *digwars* of Asansol owe their origin as rural police to Pachet, traces of whose domination are visible in many other ways. The *Pargana*, nevertheless, was permanently settled with the house of Burdwan.
  8. Owing to its physical character and situation, it was long both the high road and the harbour of the Chuars of the Jharkhand—the jungle tribes generally—in their descents upon the settled country of the east; but there is no trace of who its original general population were, and, except the Mâls, to be presently noticed, I could identify no inhabitants as of undoubtedly longer standing than the Musulman *aymadars* at Churulia. The Santals, for instance, who occupy in

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\* *Pargana* Shergarh, a no-man's land. Hastings took advantage of this to appropriate a considerable slice of the west of it, which he bestowed, just before his departure, on his famous confidante and preserver Kanta Babu. It, with the other pieces of land in other districts and provinces similarly appropriated, was called *pargana* Kantanagar (part of which lies in Ghazipur, North-Western Province) and it is still held by Maharani Sarnamayi of Kasimbazar.



a fringe its wildest, most primitive looking, and least accessible parts, have settled there, we know, within the century. It is possible that it had no general population, and that the Mâls,\* few as they are, are its real aborigines. The Bauris, however, are by far the largest section of its population of a primitive character. They do not claim to be autochthonous, as do the Mâls; and as they have all the characteristics of a broken race, with no clannishness, no cohesion, "no past, no present, and no future," it is possible that they are a segment of some such people as the Uberræ of Megasthenes, the Bhars of Bihar, who poured or drifted into the country as it became open to them. They have no traditions of kings, or leaders, or gods, or of any state anterior to their present degraded serfdom. There are many Bagdis in Bauri-land; but as this race has always sought extended cultivation and settled conditions, I am inclined to believe that though on its passage to the deltaic plains it may have traversed Shergarh, the members of it now found there have come back from their eastern settlements, and are the overflow of Bagdi-land, and not the indigenous population. Regarding the Bauri, I can get no further than the above conjectures. They have not sunk to a state so low as that of the sweepers and the Haris, but otherwise their degradation is low as it well can be. They are always ready to fraternize with any of their neighbours, the Santals and Bagdis, who will accept their society, especially when food and intoxicants are in question. To the west of them, and among them, is a large Hari population, towards whom they show the same disposition, just sufficiently guarded to keep up the barrier; and I am informed, and I think it likely to be true, that the Hari ranks are largely recruited from Bauri outcasts, if indeed the Haris, who are necessarily of very mixed origin, do not in the main owe their origin to this race.

In the forest tracts of Shergarh and the adjoining jungle *pargana* Senpahari, chiefly in villages on the Ajay, are still to be found nearly 2,300 Mâls—Rajbansi Mâl as they call themselves—clearly identifiable as members of the great Mâl race which, from an ethnological point of view is to me the most interesting of any of the primitive peoples of India. I proceed to a detailed notice of it, because it seems to me that there is a close connection between the Mâl and the Bagdi, and that the latter are the offshoot of the former

\* The Mâls, the real aboriginals of Shergarh. The practice of worshipping old sâl trees and clumps of sâl, the trees in some of which are of great age and size is followed in the Shergarh jungles. The Mâl Paharias have the same custom. Though the Kolarians, particularly the Santals, cherish religious groves, they seem unable to stand the sight of fine old trees, and invariably cut them down. The village of Mamre, near Faridpur, is very like a Mâl Pahari village in its surroundings.



parent race who have occupied the delta, sheltered themselves under Aryan Hindu masters, settled down to labour and permanent agriculture, and been received within the fold of Hinduism, and acknowledged to be entitled to participate in the Vedic doctrine and its benefits. ✓

10. The Malli (always with the double l, which probably represents the soft and liquid sound of their own Mälé and Mälér) and the Sabaræ or Suari or Suaræ, are mentioned by all the Greek geographers. They were east of the Prasii of Patna, and their boundary was the Ganges, and they lay about mount Maleus or Mallus, which threw so notable a shadow.\* The Suari and the Malli are the same. The Sauria Mälér, as they love to call themselves in their euphonic tongue, which makes their Hindu name Pahari into Paharia, as it turns Suari into Sauriä, still lie 50,000 strong, primitive and unmixed as they were in the days of Sandracottus—absolute aboriginals, hemmed in by the Ganges, in the hills of Rajmahal and of north Godda and Pakaur. Beside them and below them, around Mandâr, once the churn of the ocean, which still casts as mighty, though not as portentous, a shadow as when, as mount Mallus, the shade from it used to fall for half the year to the north, lie in fast dwindling numbers their brethren and kinsmen, also Malli and Suari of old, who loved the ease and fertility of the plains and gave the race its kings and princes; and later on coalesced and intermarried with the Rajput Aryans as they approach, and took their Hinduism with the status of its soldier caste; and never daring to call themselves Kshatriyas at once, were found with the name of Kshatauri,† or Katauri, as the nearest permissible approach to it. These are the Katauri, often confused with Khetris or the more general Chhatris or Khatris, of the old debateable land which lay between the subahs of Bihar and Bengal, which later on came to be South Bhagulpur and West Birbhum, extending right down to the Ajây, and most of which now lies in the modern districts of Santal Parganas. The Katauri remains are still seen and talked of as far south as Karmmatanr (a station of the East Indian Railway chord line), and particularly at the town Karon, which is close to it; but the Katuris have long since disappeared from the west and south of the tract which they used to cover, and have receded towards their ancestral

\* NOTE.—The Greek geographers use Suari and Malli as interchangeable terms. They also called the Malli, Mandei and Mandali. The latter may be Mandâri, people of Mandâr. The Monedes are, I agree, the Mundas, the purest type of the Kolarians as contrasted with the Malli, the purest type of the Dravidians on whose borders they lay as they still lie.

† Katauri. The word is variously spelt and pronounced Kshatauri, Katauri, Keturi, Ketûri and Katûri; also Katori and Ketori.



hills, driven back, I believe, by the Bhuiyan\* invasion from the south about three centuries ago, which established the petty kingdom of Lachmipur, the *pargana* of Passai, and most of the *ghatwalis* of Sarath Deoghar, and immediately preceded the formation of the sovereignties of Birbhum and Kharakpur by two Pathan adventurers. At the British accession five important Katauri chieftaincies still survived, protected by the Muhammadan officers at Bhagalpur and Monghyr, to whose *pargana* of Bhagalpur, though geographically quite disconnected from them, four of them were attached as dependent *tappahs*. These four were Manihari, the largest and the parent of them all, whose chief acknowledged sovereign of all the present Rajmahal hills and valleys, and from which had sprung the other three, Patsanda, Barkop and Usila, dependent on *pargana* Bhagalpur. The fifth was Hendue, also an offshoot from Manihari, which had barely survived the Bhuiya invasion, and then with the Bhuiya conquest, had been annexed by the Pathan Rajas of Kharakpur, to whose successors it is still formally and reluctantly attached.† Usila has disappeared. Manihari is in the last stage of decay, the greater part of it alienated, and with no male heir. Hendue, Barkop and Patsanda still exist; Hendue and Patsanda with the custom of primogeniture, which in Barkop was broken down in 1879. These three Katauri chieftainships alone still cover an area of nigh 1,000 square miles.

South of the Mālér, or Sauria Paharias, as they are usually called, but in the same ranges of hills, and separated by no natural, but only by a fiscal and imaginary line boundary, lie the Māl Paharias. They are clustered thickly in these Damin-i-Koh hills, because they there enjoy the protective system of which Cleveland was the author; but unlike the Sauria Mālér, who are almost absolutely confined to the hills, the Māl Paharia are found diffused on the edges of the mountains and beyond them to the south and west, in more or less continuous lines, clinging to jungle country till they have spread into the cultivated delta, and are then calling

\* The Bhuiyan incursion into the north. The memory of this is just as vivid, and its details as fresh as those of the Santal immigration from the south, which our records show to have begun in 1815 (*vide* Sutherland's Report and the Hill Correspondence, Dumka record-room). In 1882 a Māl Pahari of Gumru in *Tappah* Sarath Deoghar was tried for shooting an arrow at the Bhuiyan ghatwal, one of the Birbhum ghatwals of Regulation XXIX of 1814. The Māl's defence was that his ancestors had owned Gumru hill and been dispossessed of it by the Bhuiya. Yet we know that the Bhuiyan incursion preceded the formation of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Birbhum and Kharakpur, the dates of which are known (A.D. 1600).

† *Tappah* Hendue is rated as a *patni* or *Mukarrari* dependency of Kharakpur. The titular Raja, whose ancestor at the Permanent Settlement in vain sought for its recognition as an independent *pargana*, to this day pays his rent into Court by way of protest.

themselves Mâl only, and ignorant of the distinctive description Pahari, which their Hindi neighbours imposed on them.

12. To any observer of the two peoples as they lie side by side—the Mâlér to the north, the Mâl to the south—in the Damin-i-Koh, it is plain that they are almost identical. Their physique and Tamil features, their women's Tamil dress, and above all the peculiar formation and surroundings of their villages and houses, are the ocular evidences, and on the actual border they cannot be distinguished. Nevertheless the Mâl have lost their distinctive Dravidian tongue, and speak a Hindi or Bengali patois. It is only on the border that they understand the tongue of the Mâlér. They have embraced Hinduism, and individuals among them are far taller, robuster and darker than the Mâlér (who are a fair race), showing unmistakeably some mixture of other blood. In character, too, they are far fiercer and more courageous, and show considerable aptitude for work, while the Mâlér are one of the mildest races, and probably are the most worthless race in the world. In fact the Mâl scarcely approach more closely to the ancient Malli—the Sauria Mâlér—than do the Katauris. The latter are identical in feature and physique (with only the difference due to their being plainmen) with the Mâlér, with here and there an individual showing a preponderance of Aryan blood. Their dress makes a great difference at first sight; they have lost the Dravidian tongue; they are strict Hindus; and though sneered at by Aryans of race for their jungle origin, they enjoy the high status of Chhatris or Kshatriyas. The Mâl Paharia claim the same status. In the hills they call themselves the Kumer Bhag, or princely section, and take the titles of Sing and Rai. In the plains, as already noticed with regard to the Burdwan Mâls, they call themselves Rajbansi, or of royal race, as do the Dravidian Koch and Dhimal, whom physically they much resemble. The Bhuiya do precisely the same, their chiefs claiming solar descent, in ridiculous contrast to their negritic features. The Mâls' assumptions are treated with the utmost ridicule by the Hindus, who regard them as a mere jungle race, and do not even admit their pretensions to Hinduism, classing them unreservedly among the Chuars, amongst whom they also class the Bhuiya clansmen. The Bhuiyan invasions in the 15th or 16th century, which pressed right up to the Mâlér country, has been noticed. To this day many Bhuiyas are found side by side with the Mâls, and the individual Mâls, whose physique shows them to be of mixed race, more closely resemble the Bhuiya than any other people. I am much disposed to conjecture that the Mâl got their mixture with their Hinduism, such as it is, and their Hindu claims, from the Bhuiya. It need hardly be added that now that



they claim solar and lunar descent, the Māl repudiate all connection by origin with the autochthonous Mālér. The Mālér, on the other hand, allow that the Māl were sprung from them, but say that they were impure and were no longer Sauria. This is just what was to be expected.\*

There remains the phenomenon of their distinction from the Mālér in language, with no physical feature to account for it. Indeed the Māl Paharia country in the Damin-i-Koh is still more primitive and inaccessible than the Mālér tract, though it is narrower and more closely hemmed by Hindi and Bengali speaking people on both sides. The boundary between the Māl and Mālér, and their languages is a fiscal one. The same sharp distinction of language is to be seen unaccounted for by any natural boundary, between Bengali and Uriya, and Bengali and Hindi. It must be due, therefore, to moral rather than physical causes, to devotion to a particular leader or a particular faith. The Mālér were, till the 15th century, under the sole sovereignty of the Raja of Manihari, their own kinsman. In the 16th century the Muhammadans sliced out the *pargana* of Ambar, which at the British accession stretched right through the hills, and conferred it upon a Brahman Rishi, a Pande from Kanauj, whose descendants still hold its portion in the plains. These Brahman *samindars* were so high above the aboriginals that they had neither call to interfere with their language nor their religion; while they were quite strong enough to ward off from them the Bhuiyan invasion which was then in progress. It, meanwhile, was affecting the country to the south, which was soon afterwards conferred as part of the great *pargana* of Sultanabad on the Rajput family, whose descendants still hold the plains portion of that *pargana*. Sultanabad stretched right through the hills to the plains beyond, where some of its villages still lie. South of Sultanabad the country was seized on by the Pathans of Birbhum, who, with their brother-adventurers of Kharakpur, were the chief to profit from the upheaval caused by the Bhuiyas. These changes were followed by some interesting changes of territory. The Mālér country fell into the divisions into which the parent Manihari

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\* This conjecture as to the recentness of the Paharia's Hinduism is confirmed by the episode of Khosial Sing. Tappah Kunwarpal acknowledged the sovereignty of the Rajput Raja of Sultanabad. Sankara was constituted into a *taluk* under a chief who was already beginning to call himself a Raja. Tappah Marpal, between the two, lay in a state of anarchy. In the middle of the last century, a Rajput adventurer called Khosial Sing made himself its Raja, and erected a rude stone fort on its highest hill, Mahuagarhi, where its remains are still to be seen. He descended into the plains of Hendue, and was slain in battle by the Raja of that kingdom, at a spot just under Mahuagarhi, still called Rajamara. The toleration of his assumption by the Paharias of Marpal can only be accounted for by their anxiety to have a Rajput status.

kingdom was distributed, or followed the names of the portions sliced out of it and conferred upon others, like *pargana* Ambar and *pargana* Tiliagarhi,\* which latter was given to ■ Tili who had turned Muhammadan with the name of Roshan Bakht. The hill portion of *pargana* Ambar, however, became a *tappah*, and was, and still is, called Saurpal or Suarpal. Similarly the hill portion of Sultanabad became ■ *tappah*, and ■■ called Kumarpal.

14. The country to the south belonged to the huge *tappah* of Belpatta of the Birbhum realm, and its hill portion was divided into two sub-*tappahs* called Dânrpal and Marpal. This termination *Pal*, by the assent of the Paharias themselves, and by analogy with much of their patois, is for *Pahar*. It is ■ often called *Pali* or *Peli*, that is, *Pahari*. What Dânrpal means I cannot conjecture. Marpal is Mâlpahar, the hills of the Mâl; and Kunwarpal is Kunwarpahar, the hills of the Kunwars; while Suarpal means the hills of the Sauri. Suarpal and Kunwarpal abut on each other, the former being the southernmost division of the Mâlér, and the latter the northernmost of the Mâl. Thus the two divisions of the people marked their respective boundary tracts by sharply distinctive names which indicated the tribal differences between them. This alone was sufficient to give the moral effect which sustained the difference in language. Moreover, the Mâl of Kunwarpal claim a blood relationship with the Rajput *zamindars* of Sultanabad, in whose *pargana* their *tappah* lay till Cleveland severed it in 1780, and to whom they still profess a nominal or traditional allegiance. The late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Singh, husband of the female proprietress of Sultanabad, used to disavow this story with ■ conscious smile; but as it always was the policy of Rajput or Chhatri conquerors to form such alliances with the primitive independent ■■ with whom they ■■■ in contact—a practice of which there are hundreds of examples throughout India, and of which, in the present connection, the ■■ of the Katuris and Bhuiyas ■■ prominent instances—the Mâl tradition on the subject has probably ■ good foundation, which would further account for ■ ■■ which claimed such kinship adopting

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\* It has been said that the Hinduized ■■ took the name Katuris as the nearest approximation which they dared take to Kshatri or Chhatri. The Tili afford another sample amongst many other instances of the same thing. They ■■ mixed impure caste who follow the business of oil-pressing, and therefore attempt to approximate to or be mistaken for the Hindu Telis. The Bhuinhars, who ■■ the status of land-holding Brahmans and call themselves Babhan, afford another instance, as do the Burdwan Khetris. The famous Kanta Babu (the ■■ first Babu in the modern and common acceptance of that word, viz., ■ Bengali dressed in clean clothes), Hastings' preserver and cashier, ■■ a Tili, as his famous descendant Maharani Sarnamayi of Kasimbazar.



■ separate tongue. In any case the vicissitudes of ■ mountain language, when the tract of mountain is small, require no other explanation than the progress of civilisation and the advance of the dominant tongue. At the time of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, Erse ■ the only language spoken and understood by the people of the mountains in my own county, Wicklow. For many years it has been an absolutely unknown tongue in that county. It is only in Kunwarpal, where they stand alone in their hills, preserving, remnant though they are, much the same position ■ when they were ■ comparatively powerful race and first embraced Hinduism, that the Mâls maintain ■ position at all proportionate to their claims to caste. In the plains, where they are dominated by their ■ Aryan and more purely Hindu neighbours, they retain only the titles which connect them with a royal race, and are otherwise among the lowest of the low. In the Deoghur sub-division they are called Pujahars and Naiyas; the former, I believe, merely a nickname evoked by the novelty of a jungle race being seen to perform Hindu worship; and the latter designating them, 'n distinction from their old demon-worship, ■ followers of new creed. Thus they have spread over all Bengal, and, s they have got further from their original seat, have lost, I believe, even while still calling themselves Mâls, the pretensions to royal blood which the Rajbansi Mâls of Burdwan, ■ vell ■ the Pujahars and Naiyas of Deoghur, still retain. Between these Mâls and the Bagdis there is ■ intimate onnection. To this day they partake of the ■ hookah and admit ■ common origin, and, in the case of Bishtupur,\* a common sovereign; and my observation of both people leads me to conjecture that the Bagdis are the section of the Mâl who have accepted civilization and life in the cultivated country ■ serfs and co-religionists of the Aryans; while those Mâls, who ■ still found scattered through the Bengal delta, and who ■ not, like the Rajbansi Mâls of Burdwan, clearly traceable to the Mâler of the hills, are either the descendants of isolated and conservative fragments of the race, or of those members of it who tried to follow the example of the Bagdi after the latter had become constituted as ■ recognized and exclusive caste, and therefore failed.) In the Mâler we have ■ undoubtedly autochthonous ■ To them are easily and certainly traced the Mâl Paharis, and through these the Mâls of, at all events, all Western and Deltaic Bengal (and, as I conjecture, the Bagdi). The distinctions following the successive departures from the original autochthones ■ change of language, change of

\* NOTE.—The Bishtupur kingdom used to lie conterminous with the old Kataur kingdom, and stretched right up to the modern Damin-i-Koh.

religion, some mixture of blood followed by changes of physique in individuals, and readiness to follow manual labour and settled cultivation. These gradations are plainly marked by each successive step of removal from the originals. As regards these changes, the following must be borne in mind:—

The Sauria Málér, though now found ■ a single isolated race, are only so in their position, which the physical character of the country and then the system of Augustus Cleveland at once account for. They are merely ■ unadulterated segment of the great Dravidian race, and ■ identical with the Oraons and Sabaras (Suari) of the south and south-west. Their worthlessness, with their aversion to all labour and to settled cultivation, is merely ■ local peculiarity common to all primitive hill people. The Oraons are generally called Dhangars, and the name Dhangar is synonymous in Bengal with ■ hard and valuable field worker. Colonel Dalton ■ much puzzled to account for its derivation, and ■ not aware that the Málér in their own tongue, and therefore also the Oraons, whose language is identical, call their men of fighting age, their *Juventus*, Dhangar, or, ■ they euphonize it, Dhangaria. Málér itself is the plural of Málé, and Málé means a man; so these autochthones called themselves "The men," just as do their Kolarian neighbours the Mundas and Santals (Hor), and the Larka Kols (Ho). It has been surmised that the Mál Paharias derived their admixture of foreign blood with their Hinduism from the Bhuiyas; but the Bhuiyas, too, are another section of the great Dravidian race, whose chief seat is Keonjhar, where their chiefs ■ kings, but who extend to the Carnatic and throughout Telingana, where they are the most prominently historic tribe. The word Bhuiya, again, like the pure Sanskrit Bhumij, is a name bestowed on them by, or borrowed by them from, the Aryan invaders. It has been surmised that the Mál Paharias had ■ admixture of Bhuiya blood: but it is just ■ possible that the Bhuiyas were Mâls, or some section or offshoot of the great tribe of the Malli. Though the meaning of the ■ Málér is "The men," it must not be forgotten that Málé is still the Dravidian (Kanari and Tamil) for ■ hill, and may, ■ well ■ Málé, ■ man, be the derivation of the word Mâl. The name Malla is ■ title of the Rajas of Bishtupur, the acknowledged kings of the Bagdis, and of the present Mâls who ■ their neighbours, around whom are centred the most concrete legends which refer to the connection between these two tribes. The Hindu genealogists of the house of Bishtupur assert that this hereditary title Malla means the wræstler, just ■ Manbhum should be Mallabhum, the land of the wræstlers. As far ■ I



now, except for the mere coincidence of sounds,\* both assumptions are equally gratuitous, and Manbhum is the land of the Mâl, and its prominent races are, putting aside the Kolarians and the inexplicable Bauris, the Mâl and their cousins with the sanskritized name, the Bhuiya. I do not accept the conjecture that Mälé, a hill, must be the derivative of the word Mâl, because the Malli were not exclusively a hill race, but a widely diffused people to whose purest remnant the Rajmahal hills, fenced in on two sides by the ranges and elsewhere by the impenetrable "Jungle Terry" (Terai), the English of Cleveland's day called what is now the cleared country of South Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas, combined with the protective policy of the Mughals, and then of Augustus Cleveland, have afforded an undisturbed shelter.

In the foregoing I have attempted to trace the origin and development of the most important original race in the Burdwan district. Its connection with the Mâl must be conjectural, deduced only from the traditions of both people in Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, and Manbhum; their connection with the house of Bishtupur; their present relationship or half-relationship; their position; and finally, the physical resemblances between them. But the earlier descriptions and developments rest on no such uncertainty. The Mälér are there to speak for themselves, absolute aboriginals and absolutely unmixed; so regardless of time that they have no era earlier than that of Chilmili, as they call Cleveland. The connection between them and the Katauri race is equally certain. It is a matter of notoriety among their neighbours around, and in the Katauri families, and it was brought out in evidence in the Barkop succession case, which, the District Judge of the Santal Parganas, I finally heard in 1879. One party claimed the autochthonous origin and the race customs, and the other the Maithili law of their Aryan female ancestors, whose religion and status they had adopted. The history of the Mâl Paharias was similarly brought out, and their origin and the law governing them similarly disputed, in the litigation around the Sankara estate, which still is, and has been since 1855, under the Court of Wards. Sankara is the name of the group of hills south-west of the present Damin-i-Koh, which, though part of the original Damin-i-Koh recognized by Cleveland, were cut off from it in the years 1826 to 1833 by that extremely self-willed and autocratic officer, the Hon'ble John Petty Ward, when he was forming the present ring-fence in those years. Cleveland made a distinction between the Mälér and the Mâl, and conferred a set of his

\* Malla, in Sanskrit.—a wrestler.

stipends on the Mâls of Sankara, and of course, with them the privileges of his legal system for the hills. Sankara lay in the Birbhum *zamindari*, close to the cleared country and easily accessible; and the chief of Cleveland's time Tribhuban Sing by name, more resembled a petty *talukdar* than one of the barbarous mountaineers, and was in fact a plainsman. His son, Sumar Sing, a man of great character and physical energy, combined the predatory habits of a Paharia with the cunning and litigiousness of a Bengali, and used to raid almost up to the civil station of Suri, about 30 miles away, and to secure immunity from the consequences by pleading the privileges of Cleveland's system and trial by his peers. In this way he formed a very considerable *taluk*, the genesis of which only came to light in the course of Mr. Ward's operations. That officer indignantly cut it off from the Damin-i-Koh, and in doing so had to sever the genuine mountaineers recognized by Cleveland, and vested with sets of stipends by him, in the high hills to the southwest of Sankara. All this territory was restored to the permanently-settled tracts in the midst of which it lay. It is curious that, notwithstanding his indignation with Sumar Sing, Mr. Ward made no attempt to interfere with the Sankara stipends, which continued to be paid till 1879, when I resumed them. Sumar Sing, meanwhile, retained his ill-gotten territory and the title of Raja; and in the litigation which followed his death, the *Dayâbhaga* law claimed by one party of disputants as the law governing the family, and was decreed to be so by the Privy Council. The present ward, his grand-daughter, Sibu Sundari, is still called Rani in her own little court. She, by the way, though married to a Mâl of Kunwarpal, by whom she has children, has afforded more than once a living illustration of how the Mâl blood can become mixed. The Mâls of Sankara no longer inhabit their hills, but the plains around them; and the whole Sankara episode illustrates the changes which make it hard to identify a Mâl labourer, one of the lowest of the low, of the delta, with the self-styled Sings and Rais of Kunwarpal and their still purer northern brethren the Mâler, though every step of the connection by mere geographical proximity, and the local tradition at each stage can be traced out.

16. In conjecturing that the Bagdi were the chief components of the Gangaridæ, while at the same time sprung from the Malli, I dwell on the fact that the word Gangaridæ was a geographical term, while the word Malli designated a race or nation.\* This is supported by the word Gangaridæ itself,

\* NOTE.—The race name used by the Greek geographers for all the people south and east of the Malli was Kalingæ, or, as the Hindu geographers call it, Kalanga, the "black-bodied" people, the "low" Dravidians, in contrast to the Malli (Mâler and Katuris), who are fair and "high" Dravidians.



and by the fact that it ■■■ applied only to the people of the ■■■ and actually formed by the Ganges in its changing and divided courses after it had passed the last rocky barrier at Rajmahal. Moreover, I must admit that the Bagdis of the Greek geographer's time had already adopted their status under the Brahminical system, which they now occupy, and that the Gangaridæ, while composed mainly of them, included also their Brahman priests and masters. If this was so, it will be asked how could the Bagdi, with their status as serfs and old labourers, barely admitted within the pale of Hinduism, be an offshoot of the Malli, when the Hindu offshoot of the Malli, about which there is no doubt, is found in the present Katuris with their high status of Kshatrias, and with Rajas, great chiefs, and zamindars still at their head.

That the Gangaridæ were Hindus I think there can be no doubt. The Ganges ■■■ then, ■■■ now, the sacred river of the Hindus, and ■■■ such ■■■ known from its source to its mouth. The Aryan invasions, which were, till the British accession, effectually checked by the fastnesses of Rajmahal hills and the deadly jungle Terai which lay on their west face, found no difficulty in the broad river, and had long before founded the great city of Tamralipta (Tamluk) near its mouth. If the Bagdi were then the most numerous among the Gangaridæ, and if Parthalis was Burdwan and their chief city, it would have occupied to them much the same position as Bishtupur did at the beginning of our own times, the undoubted capital of the Bagdis held by

Bagdi king, if indeed, as I am far more inclined to conjecture, Parthalis was not Bishtupur itself. The Katuris, certainly, ■■■ slight and fair race, are, except for some peculiarities and bluntness of features, exceedingly unlike the black and sturdy Bagdi; but then the Katuris are the actual section of the Mälér who lie about mount Mandar in the plains, or, just ■■■ probably, the present Mälér ■■■ the section of the Malli who took refuge in the impenetrable hills. To the north and east of them the Ganges shut them in and prevented on those sides any development of such ■■■ offshoot ■■■ the Katuris. The other race immediately developed from the Mälér are the Mâl, who had easy access to the plains to south and east, and to them the resemblance of the Bagdi, both physically and in status under the Hindu system, is close. In fact, as already said, the Mâls who joined the Aryan settlements after the Bagdi caste was formed, hold, notwithstanding their pretensions to royal race, ■■■ lower social status. There only remains for explanation the apparent anomaly between the status of the Bagdi and the Katuris in the Hindu system. I think regard to the similar status and the grades in it held by the Mâl Paharias would account for this, but I particularly account for it in this way.

18. The adherence to Hinduisim of the Katuris must have been very late, and long subsequent to that of the Bagdis and to the time of Megasthenes. He says that the Suri and Melli lay around Mandar. If the section of the tribe who now occupy that country had then been Katuris, they would have been included among the Hindu Prasii, whose tenure they now hold, and a high grade in whose social system they enjoy, and not among the barbarous fetishists, the Mălér, whom as Hindus they now affect to despise. But the fact that the Katuri race is dying out so fast as it is, and before our very eyes, indicates how late its Hinduism was adopted. When brought into actual contact with the Aryan soldier race, whose rank it has assumed, and no longer protected by its barrier forests and the artificial support of the Mughal officers at Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, it cannot sustain the high social status, the burden of which is thrown on it by its assumption, and it is sinking under it. The Bagdis were never placed in this position. The Măl Paharia have always had a lower, and below it a still lower grade into which to fall, while the Katuris have no such alleviation. Significant of the lateness of their conversion to Hinduism is the fact that the Mughals called on them to adopt Islamism, and the tomb (not the place of cremation) of one of their Rajas of Manihari, who was so converted and circumcised, is still shown beside their strong and important fort of Lakragarh in the central valley of the Damin-i-Kol. The deity who occupied their sacred hill Mandar is the tutelary goddess of those forest races who turn to Hinduism and is now worshipped by the reformed or Hinduized Santals, whose sacred hill and shrine and place of pilgrimage Mandar has now become.

19. The following are two amongst the many incidental facts which are inducements towards assigning a Dravidian origin and, more nearly, from the Melli, to the Bagdis. There are still in Burdwan some of the settlements, created by the indigo industry when it flourished, of labourers called Bunas (Banya) because they were jungle people, and who were all Oraons. These Bunas now all call themselves Bagdis, while admitting that they are quite apart from the old settled Bagdis, who treat them with contempt, and they have adopted, or are adopting, Hinduism. Another feature is the passionate fondness of the Bagdi for fish and for fishing whether in the ordinary way with nets and boats or with their hands; alike in water, mud and the hard ground. The same passion in the Mălér to this day at once attracts attention, because it seems so incompatible with their life on the mountain-tops. But the Mălér prefer fish even to intoxicants, and fish is to them what sweetmeats are to the ordinary plainsman of India. The divisions of the Bagdis



known by the Hindi names of Tentulia, Dulia, and Behara, are of course recent.

That the Bauris are Dravidian I suppose there is little doubt. There is no other considerable section of the population of Burdwan of undoubtedly Dravidian origin. The inexplicable Doms are over 50,000 strong; none of them, as far as my enquiries went, calling themselves Maghahia, do the most settled and respectable section of the race in the Katauri land, and its most nomad and criminal portion in Saran, Champaran, and Gorakhpur. The Kolarians have no more numerous representatives than the Santals, some 6,000 strong, the side drift of the great northern migration of that race from Sâmantâ in 1815, increased by immigrants whom the coal-mines have attracted. There are some 3,000 or 4,000 Kaoras, and some 35,000 Chandals. Some individuals of the former tribes claim affinity with the Maghs of the Sunderbans, and it is quite possible that both people came up the delta from the coast and are comparatively modern Mongolian or low Indo-Chinese, in contrast to the old Mongolian Kolarians, or to the Dravidians who came down towards the sea. Neither caste is exclusive, and the Chandals, by their name betokens, will admit any one.

Coming to Aryan times, the first settlement of which a glimpse can be obtained is that of the Sadgop dynasty of Gopbhum. Gopbhum, still a large *pargana*, is the very furthest cape or headland of the promontory from Central India which juts into the district. The neck of this promontory is *pargana* Shergarh, lying between the Ajay and the Damodar. Between it and Gopbhum in the same formation are the recently formed *parganas* Salimpur and Senpahari, which probably (and part of the former of which certainly) belonged to Gopbhum. The actual headland is formed by Gopbhum, with the delta not only fencing it on the east, but coming round it on the south and edging in on the north. Beyond lay the country formed by the uncertain and ever-changing courses, through the silt, of the Damodar, the Ajay and the Ganges, which, on the British accession, was found to be the richest tract in Bengal, and the seat of its oldest and most settled cultivation. Gopbhum, on the contrary, is still covered for the greater part of its surface with *sâl* forest.

Gopbhum, with part of the debateable land between it and Pachet now included in the modern *parganas* Senpahari and Salimpur, was of course formerly in the great Mâl or Bagdi kingdom of Bishtupur, which stretched far into Birbhum and up to the modern Damin-i-Koh. But more recently, by the universally current tradition of the tract, it was the seat of a Sadgop dynasty, some traces of which are still extant. The only Raja of the race whose name survives was Mahendranath, or, as he is locally called,

Mahindi Raja. His seat ■■■ Amrargarh, close to the town and railway station of Malkar, and the long lines of fortifications which enclosed his walled town ■■■ still visible. To the west his power, ■■ that of the offshoots of his family, did not extend beyond the recently formed *parganas* Sen pahari and Salimpur. They are still covered with thick forest, and were apparently the debateable land between the Sadgop realm and Shergarh, over which the power of the ancient Rajput family of Pachet had extended from time immemorial. How far the Sadgop power extended to the east can be surmised from the local prevalence of the members of the modern caste, the Aguris. The succession of great marshes which lie west of the Bhagirathi, south of Katwa, indicate how far west the waters, if not the actual course of that river, used to flow. This line of marshes is the eastern boundary of the country still held by the Aguris, who occupy the old deltaic soil between this line and the present boundary of Gopbhum in which the Sadgops ■■■ still the most prominent caste. The tract is ■■■ the *pargana* Azmatashahi, a name which indicates that it ■■■ formed by the Mughals, and the prevalence of the Aguris in it points to its having formed part of the kingdom of Gopbhum. As usual, the unmixed section of the race is found clinging to the wild and uncultivated portion of its country. For the Aguris, by their own admission, are the product of unions between the Khetris of the house of Burdwan and the Sadgops of the Gopbhum dynasty, and the caste arose within the last two hundred years, if not within ■ still shorter period. Two hundred years ago was the era of the Burdwan Khetris first assuming prominence. True to the policy of old Aryan invaders, or mere acquirers of the soldier caste, they began to form alliances with the members of the royal ■■■ (it mattered not whether purely aboriginal or semi or wholly Aryan, provided it ■■■ royal) with which they ■■■ in contact. The Khetris, however, had scarcely risen to the state of Rajas themselves when a combination of circumstances, which at this moment ■■■ influencing them, induced them to assert their exclusive character ■■ an immigrant people from either Oudh or the Punjab, and not ■■ settled inhabitants of Bengal. They have, throughout the last two hundred years, shown this anxiety to keep up by this ■■■ their connection with the other Khetris who are scattered throughout India. The consequence ■■■ that the Aguri caste, though esteemed highly respectable, has never attained the full status of the Kshatria, ■■ it would have done, to judge from other examples, had its origin been less recent. Though its ■■■ Aguri is contracted from Ugraha-Khetri, or "the fierce Khetris" (probably in allusion to its semi-barbarous ancestors, the Sadgops of wild Gopbhum), it is ■■ distinctly cultivating caste. Its member



at least those of one section of the caste, wear the sacred thread, and as the modern Kayasths do with the Baidyas or *vice versa*, assert their superiority ~~over~~ the Sadgops from whom they have in part sprung, a pretension which, though scorned by the Sadgops, is practically admitted by other Hindus, mainly, I believe, because of the great influence exercised by the Khetri house of Burdwan.

23. This recent formation of the Aguri caste indicates that the Sadgop kingdom of Gopbhum existed, in however curtailed state, till almost modern times, first, subject to the Mughals, and then under the shadow of the house of Burdwan itself. This conjecture is borne out by several other circumstances. The remains at Amrargarh are by ~~all~~ ~~means~~ very ancient. Groups of Sadgop families, who claim to be the actual descendants of the kings, are still existing, a well known member of ~~one~~ of them, being the Honourable Mohendro Lal Sircar of Calcutta. But by 1744, Raja Chitra Sen Rai of Burdwan had occupied Gopbhum and built in it his fine fort at Rajgarh. In far earlier times the Sadgop realm had been otherwise encroached on. Its south-western extremity, now *pargana* Salimpur, was held by two Sadgop kinglings, perhaps mere cadets of the house of Gopbhum with this territory as their appurtenance, one at Bharatpur on the Damodar, and the other at Kankeswar, now by common usage contracted into Kaksa. The latter was attacked and overthrown, and his lands taken by a Bokhariot partizan named Sayad. Sayad Bokhari, whose descendent Sayads still hold the Kaksa lands in *ayma* to this day. A similar fate overtook the Bharatpur Chief, and *pargana* Salimpur, which embraces a considerable area of deltaic soil, was thus formed. The remains of the tiny forts at Bharatpur and Kaksa are still to be seen, and old Hindu images carved in black basalt continue to be found in the neighbouring tanks. The formation of *pargana* Senpahari much later. The fort at Rajgarh built by Raja Chitra Sen Rai an outpost against his enemies of Birbhum, Pachet, and Bishtupur, with all of whom he and his father Raja Kirtti Chand had waged successful war, and all of whom it commanded. North-west of it, on the Ajay and on the very confines of Birbhum and Pachet (Shergarh), there lies a small table-land (*pahari*) clothed with dense forest, on which he built another and still stronger fort, in which his cannon, with his name in Persian characters deeply graven on them, lie to this day. The surrounding tract, part of which lies ~~in~~ the Ajay in the present Birbhum district, he called, after himself and his new stronghold, Senpahari. The Burdwan family, when creating their *patni* system, held this fort and its surroundings in their direct possession till the last unfortunate

Maharaja, with ■ characteristic disregard of the glories of his house, leased it in *patni* a few years ago to the mushroom Raja of Hitampur in Birbhum. As ■ instance of the kind of aid given by the middle class of Bengalis with some pretensions to education, to historical research, I may mention that the latter's local officers told me that the fort and neighbouring temple had been constructed by Chitra Sen, who ■ a son of Ballal Sen, whilom king of Bengal.

24. Another place, prolific in Hindu remains like those found at Kaksa, is Mangalkot on the Ajay. It may have been an outpost of the Sadgop realm, but I found enquiry there impossible, as all the local legends centre round the great Vikramaditya; and the people, when reminded that he ■ king of Ujain, account for their stories by saying that they relate to some other hero of the same name, or to the Ujain Vikramaditya, who, as is well known, had power to transport himself whither he pleased. The Hindu legends of Mangalkot are obliterated by the many historic events belonging to Mughal times which centred round it. The greatest monument left by the Mughals in Burdwan, their splendid road from Gaur, and afterwards Rajmahal, to Midnapore and Cuttack, runs through the village. South of it are the ruins of the most beautiful of the mosques which they planted on this road at every eight miles, and to this spot belong some of the political allowances still paid from the Burdwan Collectorate. Before dismissing the Sadgop dynasty, the question naturally arises of what relation it bore to the Bagdis, in part of whose country it reigned. It can only be said for certain that the Sadgop dynasty held the present Gopbhum and Salimpur *parganas*, because in them only are its remains found; nor does tradition assign to it any wide domain. The prevalence of the Aguris, who undoubtedly sprung from it, in such numbers to the east of Gopbhum indicates that its extent may have been wider; but in any case its undoubted seat was on the high pasture lands and at the edge of the forest of Gopbhum. The Sadgops, notwithstanding their status at the very head of the nine Sudra castes, are certainly not pure Aryans, though there are so many individuals among them of the purest Aryan type that the admixture of Aryan blood amongst them must have been very large. In fact they would be better described ■ an Aryan ■ with ■ admixture of other, probably aboriginal, blood, than by the antithesis of this. In origin they claim to be purely Aryan. It is ■ curious fact that the Aguris, who have undoubtedly received ■ further mixture of Aryan blood, present far fewer features of the pure Aryan type than the Sadgops. Taking the Sadgops so far as they were pure Aryans, it is evident that they reached the Burdwan district by the Aryan high way of the Ganges.



and passed westwards from its shores up to their pasture in Gopbhum and to the kingdom which they founded there. The position of this caste in Nadia, Hooghly, and Midnapore is evidence enough of this. There are no appreciable numbers of them west, north, or immediately south of Gopbhum, and, till the British accession, all routes to a large Aryan migration into it, except from the Ganges, were practically closed by the great Jharkhand or western forests which enveloped it on three sides. The Sadgops came then where their way was clear, through the cultivated Bagdi land. It may be that they fulfilled for the Brahmanical influences, which brought the Bagdis to their present status and religion, the place of such instruments as the Kshatrias and Rajputs have been elsewhere; for there is very little trace of the working of these two races till the recent times of the Burdwan Khetris in the Bengal delta. The Sadgops would then have been the temporal, as the Brahmans were the spiritual, rulers of the Bagdis, and perhaps have derived from them the mixture of non-Aryan blood which is so evident. This surmise, however, is contradicted by the small extent of the Sadgop realm in comparison with the great area of Bagdi land; and also by the known power and position of the Bagdi sovereign of Bishtupur, from whose capital Gopbhum lay only two marches at most. I am inclined rather to conjecture that the Sadgops, though in their purity they came with the higher Aryans to Bengal, and attended them as serfs or menials in their successive progresses, worked their way up through the Bagdi country to the pleasant pastures of Gopbhum, and finding themselves undisturbed and alone there, since the non-pastoral Bagdis had deserted its barren and shallow soil for the richer delta, founded their kingdom, which was of no great antiquity or duration, and could not have existed without something like protection from the neighbouring Bagdi sovereign of Bishtupur. The succeeding history of Burdwan belongs to Mughal times, and I am supported in the foregoing conjectures by the fact that there is no trace, and no tradition, of any anterior power except the realms of Pachet, Bishtupur, and Gopbhum, or of any race or people with whom the Mughals had to contend, or whom they subdued, intervening between themselves and the Bagdis. The Bagdis seemed to have yielded with much ease and docility to their new masters as, in far earlier times, they are supposed to have done to the Brahman or Brahmanical invaders. In so doing they exemplified another characteristic of the Dravidian races in Bengal, which marks the Bagdis to this day in a high degree.

25. This is the entire absence of that cohesion which is inseparable from the races who follow the community system, and the entire absence of any traces of the community

system, which marks the Dravidian races of Bengal in such sharp contrast to their Kolarian neighbours in whom it is so strong and permanent a feature. Among the Kolarians, every village is a commonwealth, with its officers and elders and different degrees of subordination. In the Santal Parganas, groups of these villages each with its own full organization a community, are found with a single chief called a *desmanjhi*; and larger groups or collections of these smaller groups, generally corresponding with the *parganas*, whose head is a *pargana* or *parganait*, and the Kols and Mundas and Mahilis have the same system. But all these chiefs and officers, from the most important *parganait* to the village pedagogue, are essentially representatives and servants of the commonwealth, and in no way super-imposed above it. The consequence of this organization is the extraordinary cohesion, or clannishness as it is called, of the Kolarians, and the power by which they are able to maintain their exclusiveness. The Dravidians in Bengal, on the contrary, have either a purely monarchical system or one absolutely anarchical. Even the Katauris, much as they strove to imitate the Kshatrias to whom they had affiliated themselves, show scarcely any traces of an aristocracy. There is the king, and beneath him all members of the tribe were equal. A cadet either sank among the crowd or became himself a kingling with his separate territory, as in the case of the four Katauri chieftaincies which branched from Manihari. In Hendue there is to this day just such another offshoot, almost as independent in his chiefship as the Hendue Raja is in his. Among the Mālér the *sardar* of each hill is the local sovereign. Below him all are free and equal. The social state of the Māls, whether under their *sardar* in Kunwarp or their Raja in Sankara, is the same. The fact was first prominently brought to my notice once in 1880, when, after employing some two hundred men to beat the hills for me, I proceeded to pay them. The Santal and Mahilis at once arranged themselves in rows with their several representatives, while the Māls and Bhuiyas\* sat intermixed apart; and the *parganait* who was with me said that for the former I had only to give the money to their headmen, but the latter I should have to pay individually, as "each man was his own *sardar*." Any cohesiveness which the Mālér had was entirely due to the physical character of their situation: any which they

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\* NOTE.—This feature is manifested among the Bhuiya, many of whom are Rajas and *zamindars* in a curious way. Their kings and chiefs all claim to be of solar race, and their Hindu parasites foster the pretension. But their tribesmen and clansmen, while claiming the same blood as their kings, and often calling themselves by their common title, *ghatwal*, do not make this pretension, and are classed by Hindu Aryans among the Chuars.



possess still is solely due to Cleveland's system. As long as they are Mälér and live within the ring-fence of the Damin-i-Koh, they are exempt from rent, and receive considerable allowances from Government. This has been proved, because there were some Mälér at the hills ■■■■ Khalganw (Colgong railway station), whom Cleveland subsidized; but Mr. J. P. Ward cut them off from the Damin-i-koh, and I resumed their stipends in 1880, and they have disappeared. The wider distribution of the Mâls has made the same feature still more strongly evident in their case. The same district shows them claiming to be princes in Kunwarpal, and working ■■ scavengers in Deoghar. They have disappeared from those southern hills in which Cleveland assigned them stipends, but which Mr. Ward cut off from the Damin-i-Koh, and around the hills of Sankara they can only be counted by scores instead of by thousands, and ■■■■ maintained in these dwindled numbers solely because that estate is, and has been for over thirty years, under the local Court of Wards. Whatever appearance of cohesiveness the Bagdis possess, is solely due to their Hinduism, and then not to their having attached themselves to that system, but to its Brahman heads having recognized them and assigned them ■ place, however humble, in it. The Bauris afford an instance of what an anarchic and broken ■■■■ is ■ Dravidian tribe when deprived of its own monarchs; and their position lends weight to the conjecture that they came late to Burdwan, and long after the Hindu system in Bengal had become consolidated and strong enough to be able to keep excluded any new tribes of aboriginals, even though ■■ anxious and eager as the Bauris are to be received within its pale. But, apart from the results of their Hinduism and of their being settled in the cultivated country, the Bagdis are not one whit more united or more fitted for concerted action or for treatment in groups, much less in communities, or through representatives of their own race, than are the Bauris.

26. One more characteristic of the Bagdis and of the Dravidian races is to be noticed before dismissing them. The most prominent feature of all these races to invaders like the Aryans, the Mughals and ourselves, was their predatory habits. In the case of the Mälér it was these, with their effect and danger enormously exaggerated, that were put forward as the ostensible grounds of Cleveland's very expensive system. The Mâls had the same reputation, and with much reason, as the history of Sankara shows. Mr. Strachey, whose thoughtful and most interesting note on Midnapore is printed in the famous Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1812, mentions that the Magistrate of Birbhum had shown him ■■ sack or basketful of Paharia heads, pointing to them as showing the only way in which these marauders

could be dealt with. These must have been Māls, and probably were Sankara men, the subjects of Tribhuban Sing. The Bhuiyas came to Katauri land as a predatory horde, and the engagements which converted them into the ghatwals of Birbhum were openly made because they were half-subdued robbers and the best able to control their robber subjects. Their brethren, the Boyas of Telingana and the Carnatic, were, *paligars*, mere robber chiefs. Of the earlier Bagdis nothing so distinct is known, but in the *dacoitis* which from 1775 to 1815, or even till the appointment of the *Dacoity* Commission almost of our own times, disgraced Lower Bengal, and in a particular degree the Bagdi land, the districts of Burdwan with Bankura and Nadia, the perpetrators in nine cases out of ten were Bagdis. The title which these delinquents assumed was *sardar*, the name which the Mālér and Māl chiefs have adopted. It is still often assumed by the Bagdis, against whom the commonest form of abuse used by their neighbours is that they are a tribe of thieves.

27. The Muhammadan invaders early fixed on Burdwan as one of their seats, and have left in its several interesting relics of those times. Close by was their great settlement at Pandua, and due north of it, near Manteshwar *thana*, Mahmudpur; while the fine strategic position of Katwa had soon attracted them. The country between is sprinkled with their settlements, and many of the Muhammadan inhabitants bear a strong resemblance to their Bagdi neighbours. There were conversions of Bagdis no doubt, but, apart from them, the Muhammadan system of marriage, of concubinage, and of lawful affiliation and parentage, would account for a great admixture in the Burdwan Muhammadans of Bagdi blood. The whole district is sprinkled over with numberless *ayma* tenures, and the history of Kaksa and the description of the Muhammadan settlement and *aymas* at Churulia under Raja Narottam's fort, show how some of the Muhammadan villages were formed. The next episode after their establishment was the appearance of Chaitanya. He is particularly identified with the country at the confluence of the Ajay with the Bhagirathi, Katwa having been one of his seats, and with the right bank of the Ajay for some distance from its mouth. The large village of Gorabazar on the Ajay, north-east of Raniganj, is said to owe its name to one of his appellations, which is preserved in its integrity in the Sadgop village of Gorangapur on the Ajay in *pargana* Senpahari, close to Raja Chitra Sen Rai's fortress in the forest table-land. This Gorangapur contains a beautifully built brick temple, a landmark for miles far and wide, still in fine preservation, though deserted, and evidently more than a hundred and fifty years old, which is called Ichhay Ghosh, but about



which I have been unable to obtain any information.\* It has no connection with Chaitanya, and was very possibly erected when Raja Chitra Sen Rai occupied the neighbouring fort. That Chaitanya made much impression on the Bagdis seems evidenced by the fact that his chief local reputation is as ■ preacher against intemperance and ■ reformer of drunkards. The Bagdis must have been by far the largest section of the population which would have admitted the applicability to themselves of such teachings.

28. The subsequent history of the Burdwan district is to be found in Hunter's Statistical Account, and is identified either with the house of Burdwan or the Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan, who died in 1725. The great forts at Kulingram and Talitgarh, close to Burdwan, ■ built by the Rajas of that family ■ places of refuge against the Maharattas.

W. OLDHAM,  
*Magistrate-Collector.*

BURDWAN,  
*The 22nd April 1889.*

#### NOTE.

My specific authorities in the foregoing ■ M'Crindle's Ancient India, the local histories of the house of Burdwan, and the volumes of hill correspondence (Cleveland's, Sutherland's, J. P. Ward's) in the Dumka record-room. On the subject of castes in Upper India, I believe that I have read everything that has been published, from volume III of the Asiatic Researches down to Mr. J. C. Nesfield's memoir of 1885. For actual facts, Colonel Dalton's work is of course the most valuable in this mass of writings; but, for method and suggestiveness, none excel Mr. Beverley's (not Mr. Magrath's) report beginning at page 179, paragraph 436 of the report on the census of Bengal, 1872. The fullest of errors are undoubtedly Hunter's Statistical Accounts. In that of his own district, Birbhum (page 383), he says that Santali ■ its aboriginal language, though there ■ not ■ Santal in Birbhum before A.D. 1800. Similar errors abound.

W. O.

\* NOTE.—Ichhay Ghosh's temple. ■ see there is ■ marvellously perverted account of it at page 391, Statistical Account of Birbhum, in which Raja Chitra Sen Rai is called Lai Sen, and Senpahari is made to lie north of Suri. The temple of Shyam Rup still exists in the Senpahari fort. It is ■ whitewashed building of coarse modern brick. The Sadgops of Gorangapur ■ positive that Ichhay Ghosh ■ not a Sadgop. They believe he was the architect or artificer of the temple, and say that he was a Kayasth.

## APPENDIX I.

*The Sadgop.*—Mr. John Boxwell remarks: “Sadgop is nearly pure Sanskrit, ■ *tatsama*, and probably a modern name. It means “good cowherd,” and he enquires what is the connection of the Sadgop with the immense Goala tribe of Bengal.

2. The Sadgop are undoubtedly a modern caste, and it has been said (*vide* pages 12 and 13) that their realm Gopbhum could not have been ancient. They have ■ counterpart in Hindustan; they are not widely diffused, and all the scattered members of the caste refer back to Gopbhum. They now utterly repudiate connection with the Goala, and with the profession of cowherding or milking. Though they must have been Gops before they were Sadgop, and though Gopbhum is more pastoral than agricultural, they assert that they were the lords, not the attendants, of cattle, and the only profession they acknowledge for themselves is agriculture. They actually stand at the head of the Bengal agricultural castes, but their pretension to head the *Nabasakh*, or nine chief Sudra castes, who interchange the *hukah*, is contested by the Telis. The Sadgop, nevertheless, pretend to rank with the Kayastha, and, like them, take the surname Ghosh, which is borne, too, by some Goalas. They have not yet, however, like ■ of the Bengal Kayasthas, claimed Kshatriyahood, in the sense that it is now being claimed, ■ merely the next rank to the Brahmans. Nor can they be thought quite analogous to the Kayasthas in view of the infinitely wider diffusion, purer Aryan blood, and known antiquity of the latter. The closest actual analogues that I can find to them are the Aguri, whose formation and recentness are known. But the conclusion that the Brahmans have had much to do with the Sadgop is irresistible. In no other way can the large mixture of Aryan blood, ■ shown by the occurrence among the Sadgop of so many individuals with the large bones, fine frames, aquiline features, and carriage of the Brahmans, be accounted for. The only Aryans concerned, in the small locality concerned, must have been the Brahmans or the Kayastha. If the latter, we can know from other instances that the status of the Sadgop could not be so high ■ it is. In this view, the Bhuinhar would be ■ almost perfect analogue to the Sadgop. The Bhuinhar story, which has received general credence among the Hindus, is that the Brahmans on the Nepal border, being unaccompanied by their own wives, formed unions with the women of their Chhatri companions, and that from these has risen the Bhuinhar caste which is found in limits little larger than those of the Sadgop, with



its ■■■■ of Babhan and its status above the Chhatri, and next only to the Brahmans themselves, and finally, its dynasties of Betia, Sûr, Benares and Dumraon. The first Brahmans in Western Bengal must have been similarly circumstanced. In ■ country like Gopbhum, their largest class of servants or attendants must have been cowherds and milkmen. The conjecture that the Sadgop have sprung from Brahmans and the earlier Goalas would account for every peculiarity to be noticed among them—their Aryan blood and their high social position, their position in Gopbhum as ■ dynasty, and their name. Their repudiation of all connection with the modern Goala would be further accounted for by the very humble or degraded position of the latter. The Sadgop do not claim to represent even the legendary Gops or Gopis. Whether their genesis was actually in Gopbhum, or Gopbhum took its ■■■■ from them, is immaterial.

3. The Goala of Bengal are an exceedingly mixed, low, and more or less degraded caste. There are over 40,000 of them in the Burdwan district; but, as they differ in no way from the other Goala of Bengal, I did not particularly notice them. Nor can the enumeration be relied on as correct, for Goala is now a professional name, and the cowherd or milkman may be ■ member of a still lower caste. They are below even the Ahir of Hindustan, and far below the Goala of Orissa, who come next to the Khandaits, the Oriya Kshatriya, in the social scale, and claim to represent the Gops of Krishna's time. The Bengal Goala live in separate quarters on the outskirts of the villages, like the Doms and Muchis. Types of Aryan physique are occasionally seen among them, but, on the fringes of the jungle country ■ far as the south of Gaya, they appear to be chiefly aboriginal. In these tracts they called themselves Gayla, not Goala, and are found with buffaloes rather than cows. In the Jamtara subdivision, which touches Burdwan, I remember their proving in ■ civil case that they had the custom of *sengd* or widow marriage. The Orissa Goala pronounce them to be mere Chuars. Though, like the Sadgop and the Kayastha, they sometimes bear the surname Ghosh, they make ■■ pretensions to connection with the Sadgop, whose claims to rank they acknowledge, nor to admission among the Sudra *Nabasakh*, or nine chief Sudra castes, nor, at least as regards the great majority of the caste, even to represents the Gops of old. Whatever the original Goala of Bengal were—probably Ahir attendants of the Brahmans and Kayasthas—the present degraded state of the caste is no doubt due to its having assimilated, perhaps from professional exigencies, so many of the pastoral aborigines. Its original status, however, has prevented its falling so low ■■ comparatively unmixed

\* Mr. John Boxwell's note on this is "may ■ not generalize? The Bagdi are modern Sudra, that is, alien brought under Brahmanism; the Goala alien blood is ancient." These few words give, or at least suggest, the whole history of the connection of the Sudra myriads of India, partly Aryan or wholly non-Aryan, with Brahmanism.

Aguri might not have sprung from the Goala. As, however, not only the Aguri themselves, but the Khetri and the Sadgop, as well ■ their other Hindu neighbours, agree in their account of the origin and modern formation of this purely local caste—an account which its position, the geography, and other circumstances corroborate—I find no basis for entertaining this idea. The case of the Aguri is a valuable one in caste enquiries in Bengal, where castes are so multiplied and sometimes so inexplicable, because the caste is ■ respectable, its formation ■ recent, and its origin ■ well verified.

Hinduized Dravidian tribe like the Bagdi.\* Occasionally ■ Bengal Goala may be met with ■ the position of a *gomashta*, or even village school-master. It has been asked if the

## APPENDIX II.

Page 4.—The Katauri, "never daring to call themselves Kshatrias, were found with the name of Kshatauri, or Katauri, ■ the nearest permissible approach to it."

A friendly critic doubts the correctness of this, and writes—"I believe Khetri, Khatri, Chhatri, Khetauri, to be all forms of Kshatriya produced by phonetic decay. What accident made each group of people call themselves by any one of the names, I do not think we can tell. If the theory about the origin of the Khetauris is right, I should think it ■ great deal more likely that when they began to claim Rajput connection they adopted ■ *already existing development* of the Kshatriya title, rather than that they deliberately coined ■ word to resemble Kshatriya." There ■ only three groups of people to consider—the purely local Katauri or Khetauri, the now widely diffused but originally local Khetri ■ Khatri, and the congeries of castes and tribes still better known as Chhatri or Rajput.

2. Regarding the origin of the Katauri I have no doubt. They have only to be compared with the Mälér, who claim them as relatives and protectors, and whom they half admit to be relatives and wholly claim as dependents, and on the other hand to be compared with any of the Aryan races claiming Kshatriyahood, whether Rajputs, Chhatris, or Khetris, for any doubt on the subject of which ■ they belong to by origin, to disappear. It is to be remembered that they are found in no part of India except what used to be, till 1855, South Bhagalpur; that is, the region round



about the Mandar hill, where they lie side by side with the Mālér. If confirmation ■ wanted, the traditions of the two peoples and of their neighbours afford it. The Khetris, ■ the other hand, are next to the Brahmans, the most widely diffused race or caste in India. I do not advance what I have said about the origin of the Katauri as a *theory*, but ■ the *finding* on the question whether the account given by their chiefs and the Brahman dependents of their chiefs is true, or that given by the Katauri tribesmen themselves, by their Mālér relatives, and finally, by their Rajput and Brahman neighbours is true. The latter is confirmed by every circumstance, physical, physiological, and geographical. The very fact of ■ Hindu ■ claiming an autochthonous origin, and repudiating the higher pretensions of solar descent, is *a priori* evidence. The first clue on the subject ■ given to ■ by the late Gopi Lal Pande, titular Raja of Pakour, or *pargana* Ambar, who claimed, and whose ancestors exercised, sovereignty over all the Sauria Mālér of *Tappah* Saurpal (*vide* pages 6, 7). His account was confirmed by the two nearest Rajput Chiefs, the late Maharaja Gopal Singh of Sultanabad (*vide* page 6), and the late Maharaja Sir Jay Mangal Sing of Gidhaur. The latter's kinsman, the present Raja of Khaira, is full of information on the subject, and tells the ■ tale.

3. As regards the name Katauri, I got my theory in the following way. In the Barkop case (*vide* page 9), the plaintiffs said that they were Kshatriyas of solar race, governed by the Maithili law, and that their local name, Ketūri or Kshetūri, was the mere local change from Kshatriya or Chhatri, just ■ locally Lachman became Lakhman and Lachmi, Lakshmi, that is, Lakhi. The defendants said that they were Katauris, not Ketūris, that they were autochthons, and had nothing to do with the solar race ■ the Kshatriyas or Chhatris, and that the *pronunciation Ketūri was affected only by those who wished for a Kshatriya status and claimed a Kshatriya origin*. As ■ matter of fact, Lachman, in that locality, does not harden into Lakhman. The precise

■ Local Rajputs. Mount Mandār is now in the possession of ■ Rajput family, who, however, have acquired it by purchase from, or in default by, Katauri predecessors. But the Rajput families of Khaira and Gidhaur, to the latter of which Sir Jay Mangal Sing belonged, say that they represent the first Kshatriya invaders of the great Jharkhand, or forest land.

reverse is the case. The tendency is to soften, not to harden, and the adjoining kingdom, or *pargana* Lachmipur, is never called Lakshmipur; nor, what is still more to the point, ■ the local\* Rajputs ever

called Kshatri, but always Chhatri.

4. This was the first time I had ever heard of a caste name being deliberately coined to resemble another caste name (for the Barkop defendants did not attempt to account for

their word Katura, any more than they did for their Hinduism, which, notwithstanding that they were autochthons, they said had been perpetual); but other instances of a parallel use of similarity of name began thenceforward to attract my attention. Not that I can surmise that ■■■■ has been deliberately coined; but it ■■■■ be seen that, however the name arose, its resemblance in sound, appearance, or meaning is traded on. Every member of ■■■■ very low caste will do all he can to avoid using the ordinary name of his caste, while many go much further and assume names to connection with which they have the most dubious pretensions. A Chamar, if asked what his caste is, will ■■■■ "Jashwar;" a Dosadh, "Bahelia." Again ■■■■ Bhuiya, if in the humblest position, will answer, "Ghatwal;" and, if ■■■■ little higher placed, either "Raghubansi" or "Surajbansi." But a Bhuinbar, if he thinks his interlocutor does not know much about it, will unhesitatingly say that he is ■■■■ Brahman. He may add, "that is to say ■■■■ zamindari Brahman;" but will not do so unless he knows that exposure is certain. If there is a bystander, he will say that he is ■■■■ Babhan. I know of no way of accounting for this word Babhan except by its resemblance to Brahman, a resemblance which in Bihar and the Benares province, where the Bhuinhars are found, becomes very strong, owing to the local habit of calling Brahman, Bahman. In the ■■■■ way, a Tili will unhesitatingly ■■■■y that he is ■■■■ Teli unless he knows that he will be exposed. Very few English people know that the Kasimbazar family are not Telis but Tilis. The word Tili certainly means ■■■■ person who has to do with (*til sesamum*), but I can only account for its adoption by the resemblance theory. The Burdwan district affords another instance in the numerous Chândâl caste. Nothing will induce ■■■■ member of it to pronounce the name Chândâl which their neighbours ■■■■ freely. These peoples, when asked what their caste is, invariably answer Kotal. Now the most honourable profession amongst them is that of rural watchman, from recent times called *chaukidar*. These watchmen used to be subordinate to the Kotwâls, and the Burdwan district is still dotted over with little kotwâli stations to which these men were attached. They can pronounce the high-sounding "Kôtwâl" perfectly well, but, like the Bhuinhars and the Tilis, and as I think like the Katuris and even the Khetris in past times, they do not dare to assume the full word. It is acknowledged by them and their neighbours that Kotal stands for Kotwâl, just as their local pronounciation Chândâl stands for Chândâl.

5. There ■■■■ ■■■■ great many instances of aboriginal ■■■■ who claim the status of Rajputs, but apparently dare not take the full ■■■■. The most prominent are the Kochh of Kochh



Bihar and North-East Bengal. They stop at Rajbansi. The hill people of the east coast and Vizianagram, ■ well ■ the Rajwars of Bengal, only go so far ■ Rajwar. The ■■ Paharia take the name Kumar Bhâg. Kumar is a synonym for Rajput. But the Khetris, who are found in almost equal strength and purity in the Punjab, in the Carnatic, and the Konkan ■ in Marwar, afford, I believe, the most prominent instance of the name resemblance.

6. Of the Aryan races *Kshatriyatwa*\* was only claimed by the

\* *Kshatriyatwa* was the old thing. Kshatriyahood, or next highest rank to the Brahmans, is the modern thing.

Rajputs or Chhatris, till the Khetris, and later the Kayasths of Bengal pretended to it. I do not count the Khandaits of Orissa, whose position and pretensions much more resemble those of the Kochh. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Khetri claim is solely made with prominence and positiveness by the house of Burdwan, which is the only Khetri family that has attained such a position. Brahman opinion on the subject is worthless. The Brahmans are of pure descent themselves, and quite careless of the pretensions of all other castes to the various inferior ranks. In Orissa they are found ready to raise individual Mahantis or members of the Karan or writer caste, to Kshatriyahood by making them Khandaits. The Udaypur Rajputs are acknowledged to be the purest representatives of Kshatriyahood. They and all Rajputs treat the Khetri pretensions with scorn, and say that the Khetri ■■ a mixed Vaisya caste, whose profession is trade and finance. A very large number of the Calcutta brokers and traders, indiscriminately called Marwaris by the Europeans, are Khetris; chief among them is Babu Jagannath Khanna, "the rich Marwari." Todarmal was ■ Khetri. So were the famous Sets of Murshidabad. I cannot find that any of those persons positively claimed Kshatriyahood.

7. The recent Burdwan case was significant on this subject. The Maharani's plaint ran: "We are Kshatriyas and twice-born, and therefore *Mitakshara* must be our law." The defence statement which, as the Maharaj Kumar's guardian, I signed and attested, ran—"Though Kshatriya and twice-born, we belong to those Kshatriyas called Khetri, and ■ such have our gentile-law." But *Mitakshara* governs all Kshatriyas. The utmost that the Burdwan house ■■ pretend is that it is of those Kshatriya who ■■ not Kshatriya but Khetri, and except it, I know of no Khetris who claim quite so much. The fullest account of them which I have seen is in ■ paper written by Sir George Campbell, I think for the Asiatic Society, which I read in 1872. He says they are a purely trader and therefore Vaisya caste. The Burdwan Khetris think that their name is derived from *kshetra*, ■ battle-field. This is another of the too obvious

derivations. While it is impossible to pronounce that they deliberately coined the [redacted] to resemble Kshatriya, I still think that till lately they did not dare to call themselves by the full and unmistakeable word Kshatriya ■ Chhatri. In fact this is all that can be said of the Katauri, or of any of the instances quoted. How the names first [redacted] it is impossible to tell. There is no reason to doubt the Bhuinhar's account of themselves that the caste has sprung from Brahman fathers. Very possibly the name Babhan [redacted] allowed them by the Brahmans ■ one of these half acknowledgments so often met with in caste enquiries of paternity. Similarly the Rajput Kshatriyas who formed alliances with the lowland Málér Kings or Chiefs, may, on the adoption of Hinduism by the latter, have allowed them the [redacted] of Keturi or Katauri, that is of Kshatriya with ■ difference. What the Telis connection with the Tilis was, I do not yet know, but it is certain that the old Burdwan kotwals allowed their chândâl *paiks* or watchmen to call themselves kôtâl, while they would not have tolerated the assumption of the fully pronounced title kôtwal.

8. Of this last example, the Katauri afford what [redacted] to be possibly a further instance. The old title of their Chiefs [redacted] Barm. It is still held by the Patsanda Chief, and [redacted] retained by the Barkop family till the litigation of 1879. The more prominent and important Rajas of Manihari and Hendue had changed it some time before for the newer and fashionable affix Sing. The new sharers in Barkop call themselves Sing. Barm, beyond doubt, stands for Barman, armour, the title which all Kshatriya may assume. The modern Khetri take it in full, and the word Barman is displacing their old class names Khanna, Kapur, Nandi, and Set. Mr. John Boxwell thinks that Barm is undoubtedly the archaic form of phonetic decay, like Indur for Indrapura, Bourke for De Burgho, palsy for paralysis, and hundreds of other examples. The peculiarity of these instances is that the decayed forms and the original forms co-exist, and, even if the original forms are revivals, have co-existed for ■ long time. Now-a-days, when there is nothing to restrain their doing so, the original form is boldly taken by aspirants to its use. But ■ century ago such ■ challenge might or would have been seriously accepted, and therefore it is that I think that such doubtful pretenders as the Katauri [redacted] found with decayed form.

*Note 1.*—Regarding the Khetri claim to be Kshatriya, Mr. John Boxwell writes: "Here a most interesting question comes up. Among the ancient mixed castes in Manu is the Ksattr, nominative Ksattâ. The [redacted] divider. It occurs in this sense in the Rigveda. In Manu Ksattâ is son of ■ Cūdra man and Ksatriya woman. There is



no connection between the words Ksattr, carver from Ksad, to carve, and Ksattia, leader, from Ksatra, sovereignty, and that from Ksi, Ksā, to dwell. But both would turn into Khattri; and nothing is more likely than that descendants of the low Ksattr, become rich, would pretend to be Ksatriya. I used to wonder whether these Panjabi trading Khattris (the Khetri) were real Ksattr or not. But I am quite sure that the modern word Khattri, whether really derived or not from Ksattr, has been affiliated to Kshatriya."

So, regarding the Rajput contempt for the modern Khetri claim, he adds: "They may have found this in Manu, and actually declared the Khetri to be Ksattr."

**PREFACE**  
TO THE  
**EXPLANATORY INDEX**  
TO  
**SOME HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE  
BURDWAN DISTRICT.**

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WHEN writing up the district note-book before leaving Burdwan in 1889, I began to make some entries about those places in the district which had been identified as mentioned by the Greek geographers, and also about the Bagdi race and the Sadgop and Aguri castes, whose greatest prevalence is in Burdwan. The remarks developed into a note into which comparisons deduced from observations elsewhere were introduced, and it was printed by the Bengal Government, and I have been desired to frame an index for it.

2. The note set forth with distinctness only those local points which were in view when it was begun. The other comparisons and instances were introduced without any attempt at order, and mainly by way of allusion. They refer to some facts and several theories and opinions which have either not been put forward before, or rest on no recorded acceptance, whether general or authoritative. When framing the index, therefore, I have taken the opportunity to set down these points to which scattered allusions are made throughout the note, in the form of distinct propositions, under the heads most concerned by them, alphabetically arranged. The allusions in the text being thus explained by these propositions, the index is a supplement which completes the little treatise. It has been used at the same time to correct some errors in the text, in the way of which Dumraon and Kalinga



3. "Anga, Banga, Kalinga," a common school jingle, popularly means that the ethnical country, Bengal, is next to Anga, with Kalinga immediately below or beyond it. The histories somewhat summarily define Anga ■ the present Monghyr district, or ■ East Bihar, with Champa or Champagnagar, now a suburb of Bhagalpur, ■ its capital. A far wider definition is that given by the couplet quoted in the *Shabdakalpadruma*, "From Baidyanath to Bhubanesht. O Siva, all the land called Anga does not pollute in traversing it." According to this, Anga would comprise what Hunter calls "the Debateable Land" and "the Great Western Forest," and what the old Bengal records vaguely allude to as the great Jharkhand. That is, it was the belt of forest and rolling country beginning at Monghyr and Bhagalpur, which separated Banga or indisputable Bengal from Magadha or Bihar, and Kalinga from the Andhra country or Nagpur. It was the boundary of, or barrier against, all earlier Aryan invasions, whether of Puranic Kshatriyas or more historic Rajputs. Brahmans and Kayasthas, with their attendant menials and artificers, had penetrated or got round and behind it, but they must have come either as missionaries or colonists, and the first permanent conquests from the west were those of the Pathans. Thus, in Bengal, there is no Rajput dynasty or chief of note. The only conspicuous Rajput families are those of Khaira and Gidhaur, and of Sultanabad, all in Anga itself. On the other hand, Bengal presents the phenomenon of great Brahman houses and temporalities, even of kingdoms like those of Nadia and Pakour, or Ambar; of the vastest *samindari* in India ■ Rajshahi was in the last century, held by ■ Brahman family, their example reacting westwards with the great domains of Darbhanga as the chief instance. An instance of another kind, but with the ■ tendency, is that of the princely house of Burdwan, founded by Aryan Khatriis from the Panjab in the seventeenth century. Finally, the Chiefs who occupy the border land itself are found to be either nearly or entirely aboriginal, excepting the Pathan Rajas of Kharakpur and Birbhum,

whose invasions and establishment were so recent. The rest are the Katauri Rajas of *parganas* Bhagalpur and Kharakpur; the long line of the negritic Bhuiyas' dynasties, from Lachmipur in the north to their original seat Keonjhar; the dubious though non-Aryan Kshatriyas, so called, of whom the Rajas of Panchkot or Pachet, and of Mohurbhanj, and the Chief of the Bagdi, whose ancestors held the great dominion of Bishtupur, are the principal instances. With them may, ■ regards their share of Aryan blood, be compared the great and historic dynasties of Kuch Bihar and of Hill Tippera in the far east.

4. With Anga so defined, while its west face is part of Hindustan, its eastern face undoubtedly belongs where it borders Bengal to Bengal Proper. It embraces the whole district Sonthal Parganas, the west of Birbhum and of the Burdwan district, including *pargana* Gopbhum (the birth-place of the Sadgop and the Aguri), and the greater part of the Bankura district. It is in this Anga that my theme chiefly lies, and to it that most of my instances belong.

5. The main conclusions and conjectures arrived at in the note and index are these:—

(i) The words Malli, Suaræ, Suari, or Sabaræ, used as interchangeable terms by the Greeks, refer to the names Sauria Mälér by which the non-Hindu hillmen of the northern Rajmahal Hills still call themselves.

(ii) These Sauria Mälér are the unadulterated remnant of the Mál or Saurian race of Bengal. Developed from them are the isolated Katauri on the west, with their high Hindu status, and the Mál Paharia on the south, with similar claims but no such recognition, who merge into the Naiya or Pujahar, the Maulik, and the Mál of the plains. Close kinsmen of the Sauria Mälér are the non-Hindu Oraon, who preserve the same tongue, and the Sabar, Savar, or Saur, who ■■■ Hinduised like the Mál Paharia.



- (iii) The Mandár hill is the Mons Mallus of the ancients the term Mandali used by them ■ ■ synonym for Malli, being, perhaps, thus explained. Since Mallus was Mandár, the site of Palibothra cannot be Bhagalpur, and must be to the west. No doubt it is Patna.
- (iv) The Bagdi are apparently the section of the Mál race, who were formally received within the fold of Hinduism because they were required in the new Hindu settlements, which were not founded on conquest.
- (v) The adhesion of the Mál, still so called, to Hinduism is recent and from motives of self-interest, and is not recognized by the Hindus because not at all required by them.

6. The foregoing give strong support to the conjecture, put forward by Mr. Beverley and others, that the rest of the great Mál race in the plains of Bengal is represented by the Chándál, whether Kotal, Namasudra, or however called. They, it is known, were conquered by the Hindus of Bengal, and therefore their position in the Hindu system of Bengal is between that of the Bagdi, who were sought ■ converts, and the Mál whose voluntary adhesion is still ignored. The conquered helots were either admitted, or suffered or compelled to conform, with that name of reproach which has now become intolerable to them.

CHITTAGONG,

W. B. OLDHAM.

*The 20th October 1893.*

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<i>CHURULIA</i> —A village lying round a ruined stone fort ■■ the Ajay in <i>pargana</i> Shergarh. The village ■ occupied by Muhammadan <i>aimadars</i> , who have built their houses and mosques from the stones of the fort. They have ■ tradition of how they came there. The fort is said to be Raja Narottam's, but nothing is known about him. It probably belonged to Panchkot, which still has lands in the vicinity	2-4
<i>CLEVELAND</i> —Augustus—, ■ very young Civil Servant, who in 1779 became Collector of Bhagalpur and succeeded Captain James Browne in charge of the Rajmahal Hills. To protect the hillmen he formed the Government Estate Daman-i-koh, by taking the hill tracts out of the <i>zamindaris</i> to which they belonged. To complete it, he got <i>parganas</i> Ambar and Sultanabad from the old district Rajshahi, and <i>tappah</i> Belpatta from Birbhum transferred to him. He appointed stipends for the chiefs, made the hillmen absolutely rent-free, and raised ■ local corps, the whole costing Rs. 55,000 <i>sicca</i> yearly, which he recouped by an additional assessment on the plains. He gave the hillmen a code for holding trials, and immunity from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. He did not know the difference between the Mālér and the Māl, and was not acquainted with the south of the Daman-i-koh. So he appointed stipends to the Sankara hills, though they were ■ regular <i>taluk</i> , and to Sundardibi, though it was outside his ■■ <i>tappah</i> Belpatta. His measures went beyond what the circumstances required, and ■■ much more generous than just	
Called by the Mālér and Māl Chilмили	13
Still marks the earliest epoch of the Mālér	"
<i>COLGONG</i> —English for Khalganw ( <i>q.v.</i> ), a town ■■ Bhagalpur	"
<i>CONTOO BABOO</i> —English for Kanta Babu ( <i>q.v.</i> )	"
<i>COSSYE</i> —English for Kansabati ( <i>q.v.</i> ), ■ river of Midnapore and Chota Nagpur The ■■ sometimes pronounced ■■ to resemble the sound of Cossye	4
<i>CUDRA</i> —v. Mr. Roxwell's note on the Khatri ■■ Khetri	2
<i>CUTWA</i> —The English for Katwa <i>q.v.</i>	32
	2

## D.

	PAGE.
<b>DAMAN-I-KOH*</b> —	
A Persian combination meaning the skirts of the hills. First applied to the Government estate formed by the culturable parts of the country taken from its zamindars by Cleveland ■ 1780 and 1781, and then to the whole region, both hills and slopes (v. Cleveland and Pontet)	7
As formed by Cleveland, curtailed by Mr. Ward between 1826 and 1833, and demarcated by pillars	■
<b>DAMODAR</b> —A Sanskrit word, the ■ of the river on which Burdwan stands, which ■ identified ■ the Andōmatis of Arrian	■
<b>DANRPAL</b> —	
A <i>tappah</i> of the Māl ■ the Daman-i-koh	■
One of the parts of <i>tappah</i> Belpatta left by Mr. Ward in the Daman-i-koh. (v. Belpatta)	"
Its derivation uncertain. v. Pal. (As <i>dand</i> ■ ■ standing place or ambush, it may mean the hills of ambush)	"
<b>DAYABHAGA</b> —Held by the Privy Council to govern the Māl of Sankara q.v.	14
<b>DEOGHAR</b> —The capital of <i>tappah</i> Sarath-Deoghar (q.v.) in which is the shrine of Baidyanath	11
<b>DHANGAR</b> —The ■ by which the members of primitive tribes in Chota Nagpur who come to work in Bengal and Bihar ■ indiscriminately called	12
<b>DEANGARIA</b> —The name used by the Mālér and Oraon for their men of fighting or working age—the <i>juventus</i> . cf. Dhangar	"
<b>DIGHI</b> —A large tank with old stone revetments and other stone remains, apparently Katauri, in the eastern forests of <i>pargana</i> Shergarh	3
<b>DIHI-SHERGARH</b> —A large mud fort in <i>pargana</i> Shergarh on the Damodar. The words ■ "the (main) site in Shergarh." The fort still belongs to the Panchkot Raja. v. Shergarh	■
<b>DRAVIDIAN</b> —	
From Dravida, the name of the old division of India at the extreme south-east, but loosely applied to all the Tamil country, or to all the country south of the Tungabhadra and the Kistna, or to Southern India generally	.
Used in this work for those Dravidian peoples whose system is monarchic or anarchic, in contrast with the republican or communal Kolarians. (v. Kolarian)	23
<b>DOM</b> —The inexplicable—; very numerous in Burdwan	17
<b>DUMKA</b> —	
Its record-room contains the records of the Rajmahal Hills	25
Of the settlement confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814 q.v.	"
Of Mr. Ward's enquiries about the ghatwals of Bhagalpur. v. Ward	"
<b>DUMRAON</b> —A Rajput house quoted by ■ as a Babhan house instead of Hatua	27

## E.

<b>ERSE</b> —Instance of its speedy extinction in a tract	11
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## G.

<b>GANGARIDE</b> —	} The race placed by the Greek geographers as beyond the Malli (Mālér and Māl) to the south and east. Evidently the people of the Gangetic delta. Possibly the Bagdi	
<b>GANGARIDES</b> —		14
<b>GAYLA</b> —The pronunciation of Goala in Western Bengal and South Bihar		27

\* The wide central valley in the north of the Daman-i-koh was not taken by Cleveland or noticed by Mr. Ward. It remained as the service land of Manihari till formally resumed and included in the Daman-i-koh by Government in 1837.

**GHATWAL—**

■ word with various significations. Those referred to ■ this work are—

- (a) The name given by ■ Bhuiya of Bhagalpur, ■ Parganas, Birbhum, and parts of Chota Nagpur when asked what their caste is, because of the great Bhuiya Ghatwals of Sarath-Deoghar, often mistaken for a caste 30
- (b) The holders of the great service taluks of Sarath-Deoghar, governed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, most of whom are Bhuiya 7
- (c) Some minor police tenure-holders ■ Burdwan who erroneously claim Regulation XXIX of 1814 4

**GOALA—**

Elided form Gopalaka, cowherd. The milkman caste of Bengal and Orissa 26

In Western Bengal very mixed and of low status, formed of old and ■ Sudra 27

In South Bihar called Gayla "

In Orissa a comparatively superior and exclusive caste, some members of which ■ the sacred thread "

Compare the Ahir of Hindustan "

GOP— } From Gopalaka, synonym for Goala . 26

GOPH— } Connection with the Gops repudiated by the Sadgop . "

GOPAL CHANDRA SING—The late Maharaja of Maheshpur, husband of the Rajput proprietress of Sultanabad. q. v. 10

**GOPBHUM—**

A wood land and pastoral pargana of Burdwan, next in size to Shergarh, stood on the eastern edge of Anga . Preface iii.

The home and place of origin of the Sadgop . 17—26

Part of the Bishtupur realm 17

Formed ■ dependent realm itself under a Sadgop dynasty 16

Conquered by Burdwan 16

Contained the cadet Sadgop houses of Kaksa and Bharatpur 18

Its capital Amrargarh . 18

**GOPILAL PANDE—**

Father, and ■ predecessor of the Raja of Pakur or *pargana* Ambar (q. v.) ■

The first to point out the true origin and status of the Katauri.

GORANGA—Or Gauranga, The Fair-limbed, an appellation of Chaitanya 24

**GORANGAPUR—**

A sylvan village on the Ajay in *pargana* Senpahari, called after Chaitanya

A seat of the Rajbansi Mál 5

GORBAZAR—A village on the Ajay in *pargana* Shergarh, probably called after Chaitanya 24

**H.**

HADLA—A ghat police tenure belonging to Pandra in Manbhum, but in the ■ of Shergarh, showing the disputed character of that *pargana* 4

HARI—The scavenger caste of Bengal, said ■ Western Bengal to intermix with the Baori 5

HATUA—A great Babhan house in district Saran for which Dumraon has been written by ■ 27

**HENDUE—**

A vast *tappah*, now ■ of the Santal Parganas, the southernmost of the five Katauri chiefships. ■ probably belonged, like the others, to *pargana* Bhagalpur, from which it is now separated by *pargana* Passai (q. v.) belonging to the Bhuiya; the separation being due to the Bhuiya incursion (v. Bhuiya), as Passai ■ the area occupied by the Katauri Chiefship Usila, which has disappeared 7

Still held for the most part by ■ Katauri Raja, and includes a subordinate Katauri cadetship 22

Now rated as a *mukarrari* or *patni* of Kharakpur (q. v.), of which it was a dependency at the British ■ The fact indicates that it too had been overrun by the Bhuiya, as both Birbhum and Kharakpur ■ on their joint victories over the Bhuiya 7

Still disavows and rebels against this connection . "



## HENDUE—concluded.

Is in Hindustan with its population speaking Hindi, while Bel-patta ( <i>q.v.</i> ) which borders it with no physical boundary ■ in Bengal with its population speaking Bengali	v. Santal Parganas
Is, with <i>pargana</i> Passai, the only territory bordering the hills which has no part in them, because the adjacent hillmen became Mál and Hinduized, and gave themselves ■ to the Rajputs of Sultanabad, probably for protection from the Bhuiya. ( <i>v. Kumarpal and Sunarpal</i> )	9
HO—Means The Men, the name by which the Larka Kol ( <i>q.v.</i> ) ■ themselves	12
HOR—Means The Men, the ■ by which the Santal ( <i>q.v.</i> ) call themselves	"

## I.

## ICHEAY GHOSH—

A remarkable and perfectly built brick temple, ■ landmark for many miles on the Ajay in <i>pargana</i> Senpahari	24
Supposed to be the ■ of the architect	25

## J.

JASHWAR—The name given by the Chamar when asked what their caste is. It means Glorious. v. Chamar	30
JHARKHAND—Means Forest tract. The name indefinitely given in the early English records to the great western forest from Mongyr to Midnapore, and so far corresponds with Anga ( <i>q.v.</i> )	21
JUNGLE TERRY—Terry is for Tarai, damp forest. The ■ given by the English in the last century to the Jharkhand ( <i>q.v.</i> )	13

## K.

## KAKSA—

Elided form of Kankeshwar. The hardly distinguishable remains of a small fort at the south-west edge of Gopbhum. The name is applied to the neighbouring police-station and surrounding cluster of villages of which Panaghar railway station is one. In fact Kaksa is ■ town	19
One of the two minor Sadgop chiefships subordinate to the Sadgop Rajas of Gopbhum	"
Attacked and conquered by Sayyid Sayyid Bokhari, whose descendants hold the fort to this day	"
KALANGA—Means black limbed; has no connection with Kalinga ■ suggested in the note to page 14	14
KALINGA—The old ■ of the Uriya country, extending from Midnapore to the Kistna, and from the sea to the Andhra land (Ranchi and Sambalpur), and thus more comprehensive than Utkala ■ Orissa. cf. Kalanga	Preface ii.
KALLIANESHWARI—The Lady of Fulfilment, to whom there is ■ beautiful stone shrine under the Hadla hill at the western edge of the Burdwan district. The pilgrims are chiefly barren women	3
KANSABATI—Called by the English the Coasye ( <i>q.v.</i> ), supports the derivation Ajavati of Ajay	2
KANTA BABU—	
Anglice Contoo Baboo. The friend, confidant, purse-keeper, and, it is said, preserver of the life of Warren Hastings	4
The founder of the family of which Maharani Shurnomoyee, M.I.O.C.I., of Kasimbazar, is now the head	10
Hastings formed <i>pargana</i> Kantanagar from scattered fragment of estates which were unappropriated or in dispute in the Bengal and Benares Provinces, and settled ■ with him	4
■ Burdwan Tili, not Teli, by caste. (His title was Nandi.)	10
The first Babu in the modern acceptation of that term in Calcutta and England, and elsewhere, except Hindustan, where it ■ a nobleman, generally the senior collateral of the Raja's family, ■ senior relative by marriage	"

KATADWIPA—Probably the derivation of Katoa, or Cutwa, and what Arrian called Katadupa . . . . .	2
KANTANAGAR— An extraordinary pargana, part of which lies in the a . . . of pargana Shergarh of Burdwan, part in the Ghazipur district of the Benares Province, and other parts in Northern Bengal, formed by Hastings and bestowed on Kanta Babu (q.v.) . . . . .	1
Illustrates the debateable character of pargana Shergarh . . .	
KAPUR—One of the four divisions of the Khatri or Khetri caste . . .	
KARAN— The writer caste of Orissa; also called Mahanti . . . . .	31
Its members raised to the status of Kshatriya by local Brah- mans . . . . .	
KARMMATANR—The place of work, a railway station in the Jamtara subdivision of the Santal Parganas . . . . .	6
KARON—Near Karmmatanr. A taluk in tappa Sarath-Deoghar, but resumed and conferred by a Raja of Birbhum on a Mahratta Brahman whose descendants still hold it. It con- tains many Katauri remains, and is quoted to show how far south the Katauri extended before the Bhuiya incursion. v. Sarath-Deoghar . . . . .	11
KATAURI— Variously spelt and pronounced Kshatauri, Katori, Katūri, Keturi, and Ketūri and also with the Kh instead of the K; a peculiar Hindu caste or race claiming the status of Kshatriya, and represented by four important Rajas or Chiefs and one cadet, now only found in the Daman-i-koh and on its west face, in the four Katauri chiefships—Manihari, Patsanda and Barkop, the tappas which compose pargana Bhagalpur; and Hendue, now a tappa of Kharakpur . . . . .	11
Undistinguished from Chhatri or from Khetri in the census of 1872. In that of 1881, rated for the most part as Khetri, v. Khatauri. (In 1891 they seem to have been all counted as Rajputs) . . . . .	11
Their true character as the old Hinduized and aristocratic section of the Mālér, with admixture of Rajput blood, first pointed out in 1880 by Gopi Lal Pandi, son-in-law of the proprietress of Pakur. (q.v.) . . . . .	29
Lay around Mount Mandar and extended as far south as Karon (q.v.) . . . . .	6
And probably to Shergarh (v. Digbi) . . . . .	4
Were the Malli of the Greek geographers . . . . .	6
The Mālér still claim them as their kinsmen . . . . .	11
Their Mālér physique and characteristics . . . . .	16
Their chief house, Manihari, exercised sovereignty over all the Mālér . . . . .	9
Their old aristocratic section still contend that they are autoch- thons, governed by local law with primogeniture, and that the word Katauri has nothing to do with Kshatriya . . . . .	13
A modern section claim that they are Kshatriya from the Panjab, having connection with the Mālér, and that Katauri Keturi is the local hard pronunciation of Kshatriya Chhatri These conflicting claims explained . . . . .	11
Actual pronunciation of the <i>ksh</i> in their territory . . . . .	29
Actual custom of primogeniture and monarchy . . . . .	9
Antiquity of their Hinduism and reasons for their decay dis- cussed. They are apparently the earliest example of an aboriginal race in Bengal affiliating itself to Hinduism with an acknowledged high social status . . . . .	6
Explanation of this high status . . . . .	18
Other later instances . . . . .	8
KATOA ■ KATWA— Anglice Cutwa; in Sanskrit Katadwipa ■ Kantadwipa, the Katadupa of Arrian, an old and important town at the confluence of the Ajay with the Bhagirathi . . . . .	2
A seat of Chaitanya . . . . .	24
A strong fort of Murshid Kuli Khan or Jafir Khan . . . . .	25
KATORI—v. Katauri.	
KAYASTHA—The—of Bengal now-a-days claim Kshatriya hood . . . . .	3

**KEONJHAR**—One of the Tributary Mahals or Garhjat of Orissa, a principality of the Bhuiya and their chief seat, recently declared not to form a part of British India. The Bhuiya incursion to the north in the XVth century ■■■■ to have come from Keonjhar ■■■■ the Santal immigration of the XIXth century came from Samanta not far north of it. The Keonjhar family, who are typical negritic Bhuiya, claim to be Rajputs of solar race . . . . .

**KETORI**—  
**KETURI OR KETURI**— } v. Katauri.

**KHADIR ALI**—Raja of Kharakpur and practically the last of his line who in 1845 won in the Privy Council a celebrated appeal against the Bengal Government regarding the resumption of ■ ghatwali. . . . . (v. Kharakpur and Ward).

**KHAIRA**—

A Rajput house in the present Monghyr district in the old Katauri country, the heads of which ■■■■ well ■■■■ of the status and origin of the Katauri . . . . .

One of the very few Rajput families of position in Bengal . . . . . Preface ii.

**KHALGANW**—Anglice Colgong. A considerable town ■■■■ the Ganges east of Bhagalpur. Beside it ■■■■ some low hills which Cleveland (q. v.) included in his Daman-i-koh, and he appointed a set of stipends to them. These hills were, without any notice of the proceedings, cut off by Mr. Ward (q. v.) in 1827, though the stipends were not resumed till 1880. (v. Daman-i-koh) . . . . .

**KHANDAIT**—

From Sanskrit Khanda, ■ sword; the soldier and landholding caste of Orissa claiming to be Kshatriya, and with that status locally allowed them . . . . .

Brahmans frequently for due consideration make members of the Karan or Mahanti caste, Khandait . . . . .

**KHANNA**—One of the four divisions of the Khatri or Khetri caste . . . . .

**KHARAKPUR**—

Like the Birbhum realm, with the northern boundary of which it marched, a great principality founded about A.D. 1600 by ■ Pathan adventurer whose descendants had the style of Rajas, ■■■■ the ruins left by the Bhuiya incursion. It extended from the south of Monghyr to South Bhagalpur and the present Santal Parganas, occupying the Bhuiya Chiefship Lachmipur with its dependency pargana Passai (q. v.), and the Katauri Chiefship Hendue (q. v.) This was its position at the British accession, but before the permanent settlement, Lachmipur managed to get detached, though Hendue remained attached. Like Birbhum, Kharakpur was then far in decay, these two Muhammadan dominions having always excited the particular jealousy of the Bengal Viceroys, who encouraged the Burdwan house to attack and conquer Birbhum, and incited similar attacks on Kharakpur. The ruin of Kharakpur was completed by 1865, while of Birbhum ■ mere nominal remnant is left. Before its extinction, nevertheless, the last Raja of the house of Kharakpur inflicted in 1845 ■■■■ the Bengal Government, the most serious defeat ever sustained by it in the law courts, the effects of which survive so far that a ghatwali is ■■■■ regarded as ■ thing not to be touched, whether it is of the kind concerned in the suit in question ■ not. (cf. Khadir Ali and Ward) . . . . .

The relations between the houses of Birbhum and Kharakpur ■■■■ most intimate, and they frequently intermarried. Their respective founders ■■■■ said to have been companions in arms, ■■■■ brothers or cousins . . . . .

**KHARWAR**—

■ Kolarian tribe, whose sacred river is the Damodar, said to have been located in the Chai and Champa parganas of the present Hazaribagh district, and to have migrated thence to Singhbhum and Sildah or Samanta in Midnapore, whence they broke north and south with the name of Samanta-wala ■■■■ Saontal (Santal) in the early part of this century . . . . .

. v. Santal.



# **KHARWAR—concluded.**

PAGE.

The name [redacted] by [redacted] revivalist and puritan Santals [redacted] noticed in 1871. They affect Hinduism, eschew pigs, [redacted] and alcohol, take ganja, and object to the payment of [redacted] by the actual reclaimers of land or their descendants. . v. Santal. id.

A tribe of Chota Nagpur and South Bihar . . .

## **KHATAURI—**

The spelling of Katauri in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, first edition. To one who thinks that the Katauri appeal [redacted] strongly to the historical sense than any caste in Bengal, the brief notice of them given in so important a work seems scanty. The reason is that they were not distinguished at each successive census. Thus that of [redacted] gave [redacted] 10,000 Khatri in the Santal Parganas, and only 5,200 in Burdwan, the home of this caste in Bengal. There could not have been 100 Khatri in the Santal Parganas in 1881, and the individuals [redacted] enumerated were Khatauri, only too anxious to be equalized with the Aryan Khatri. Others called themselves Chattri, Rajput or Surajbansi, or Sing, and some Ghatwal. Their real number could not have been under 30,000. The spelling Khatauri is easily accounted for. Besides being affected by themselves, [redacted] enumerator, and before the present writer, no officer, recognized any practical distinction between them and the Kshatriya, Chhatti [redacted] Khatri [redacted] Khetri; but when the matter [redacted] to a test as in the Barkop [redacted] (q.v.), the conservative section insisted that the spelling [redacted] Katauri or Katuri. The word "Mals" in the article referred to in connection with my name, must be [redacted] misprint for Mals as the people whom I call Sauria Mals are called in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. . v. Katauri.

Mr. John Boxwell [redacted] convinced that the word Katauri [redacted] either a decayed form of Kshatriya, or at least meant for it in some shape. It may be noticed that the Mals and the Mal Paharias cannot, without difficulty, pronounce an aspirated consonant, or even an intermediate aspirate. Thus [redacted] have Con Sahib for Khan Sahib (v. Sutherland), and Pel for pahar (v. Pal), while they always call themselves Paria not Paharia. This may account for Katauri instead of Khatauri (v. Katauri), and, with a cognate race, for Boya instead of Bhuiya (v. Boya) . . .

32

## **KHETURI—v. Katauri.**

## **KHATRI OR KHETRI—**

An Aryan caste of the Panjab; next to the Brahman the most diffused (though in small numbers) in India; distinguished by the many individuals of conspicuous financial, administrative and military ability whom it has produced . . . 31

Described by the late Sir George Campbell . . . "

Their chief representatives in Bengal the noble house of Burdwan . . . "

The illustrious Toder Mal, a member of this caste . . . "

Mr. John Boxwell's conjectures as to the origin of the [redacted] Khatri . . . 32

Certainly affiliated to Kshatriya . . . "

## **KHETRI—**

The spelling and pronunciation of their caste [redacted] insisted [redacted] by the Khatri [redacted] of Burdwan and its dependents unless when Kshetri is preferred. The plural is Khetrian. (v. Khatri) . . .

Impossibly derived by them from Kshetra. They claim to be the only survivors of the Kshatriya, and repudiate the spelling and pronunciation Chhatti . . . "

Have within the century begun to [redacted] the affix Barman . . . "

Following Rajput and other Aryan practice, formed marriage alliances with the Sadgop of Gopbhum, of whom they [redacted] first neighbours and later conquerors, the result being the local Aguri caste. (v. Aguri) . . . 18

Reasons for the distinct but comparatively high position of this progeny . . . "

One section claim the *Mitakshara*, and another [redacted] *lex gentis* . . .

**KHONIAL SING—**

A Rajput adventurer accepted by the ■■■ of Marpal (q.v.) as their Raja, in furtherance of their pretension to be ■■■ with the status of Rajputs

9

Remains of his stone fort ■■■ the summit of Mahuagarhi . . .

"

Slain by the Katauri Raja of Hendue at Rajamara . . .

"

**KOCHH—**Modern instance of a great tribe affiliating themselves to Hinduism with the status of Kshatria, cf. the Bhuiya, Mál, Katauri and others

30

**KOLARIAN—**Belonging to or resembling the Kol. The term is used in this work to distinguish those sylvan races of South Bihar, Western Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa whose language is practically identical, and whose internal polity is communal and republican like that of the Larka Kol, (q.v.), from similar races, herein called Dravidian, who ■■■ either monarchic like the Bhuiya, Málér, Katauri and ■■■ Mál, ■■■ anarchic like other Mál, the Bauri and the Bagdi, irrespective of the language spoken by them

5—17—22

**KOTAL—**

The name given by the Chandál of Burdwan when asked what their caste is, because, in the region of their prevalence, they serve in the rural police who ■■■ under the Kotwal or Chief of Police, ■■■ title allowed to the heads of the house of Burdwan before they became Rajas\*

30

An instance of assumption of an approach to a ■■■ by those who dared not take the full name, cf. Babhan, Katauri, Tili, &c., and v. Names

"

**KOTWAL—**Its secondary meaning is Chief of the Police, and in this ■■■ it ■■■ allowed as a title to the earlier heads of the house of Burdwan by the Viceroys of Bengal (cf. Kotal)

"

**KSATRA—****KSATTA—****KSATTI—****KSA—****KSI—**

} A Sanskrit word and roots. Mr. John Boxwell's conjectures regarding them

32—33

**KSHATAURI—**v. Katauri and Khatauri

6

**KSHATRIYAHOOD—**The rank next to that of Brahman; begun to be claimed under British protection, without fear or danger, by the Bengal Kayastha, the Baidya and others; the ■■■ thing. v. Kshatriyatwa

31

**KSHATRIYATWA—**The state of being Kshatriya, the old thing. v. Kshatriyahood

"

**KSHETRA—**Sanskrit for a field, ■■■ battle-field. Impossible derivation of their name claimed by the Khetri

"

**KSHETRI—**Alleged purist spelling of their name by the Khetri

"

**KUINGRAM—**A large and strong fort some 15 miles south-east of Burdwan built by its Rajas as a refuge from the Mahrattas. (cf. Talitgarh)

25

**KUMARBHAG—**The princely section. The ■■■ taken by the northernmost Mál ■■■ inhabit Kumarpal, the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Sultanabad, who claim the status of Kshatriya and (probably with ■■■ truth) to be related by blood to the Rajput house of Sultanabad

8

**KUMARPAL—**The hills of the Kumar or princes. The ■■■ of the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Sultanabad taken by Cleveland into his Daman-i-koh. The name, pronounced also Kuarpel and Kunwarpal, is often used in rhyming contrast to Sumarpel or Saurpal, the hills of the Sauria Málér as the ■■■ *tappah* of *pargana* Ambar, which marches with Kumarpal ■■■ the north, ■■■ called. Their boundary is the line between the non-Hindu Málér and the Hinduised Mál (v. Sumarpal)

10

\* In the first edition of *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* the Kotal, therein called Kótál, ■■■ given as ■■■ separate caste of Central Bengal, but according to the Census of 1881 almost peculiar to Burdwan. In the Census of 1872 Ghatwal was given ■■■ a separate caste, and I think these instances to be exactly similar. The account above is the result of personal observation and enquiry among the Chandál of Burdwan.

## L.

PAGE.

## LACHMIPUR—

A *pargana* of South Bhagalpur, at first included among and then detached from the Santal Parganas in which its dependency, *pargana Passai* (*q.v.*), retained Lachmipur, with its dependency Passai, of the Santal Parganas, and the Ghatwali of Tior-Ballia in *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar on its south border, is the northernmost Bhuiya chiefship in India, and the most important remnant to them of their invasion in the XVIth century. It subsequently dominated by the Pathan house of Kharakpur (*q.v.*), but, in the case of Birbhum with the Bhuiya ghatwals of Sarath-Deoghar (*q.v.*), this domination was never very secure, and shortly after the British accession Lachmipur became detached, and at the permanent settlement separately recognized. By its ghatwali of Tior-Ballia in Sarath-Deoghar it was also subject to Birbhum, and this connection remained unchanged. The Lachmipur territory occupies old Katauri country, and *pargana Passai* is interposed between the Katauri chiefships of Barkop and Hendue, and occupies with *pargana Godda* the obliterated Katauri chiefship of Usila. This Bhuiya territory stops at the western boundary of the Daman-i-koh, and the Bhuiya invaders had, unlike the other bordering zamindars, no claims or possessions in the hills. The members of the Lachmipur Raja's family are as negritic and untinctured with Aryan blood as their humblest clansmen, but call themselves Surajbansi Rajputs, do many of their tribesmen throughout Passai and Lachmipur. These Lachmipur Bhuiya also affect the affix Sing, and call themselves Sing Bhuiya, while the Bhuiya of other states are Rai Bhuiya (*v. Bhuiya*).

LAKHAGARH—The strong and ample fort of the Katauri Rajas of Manihari in the central valley of the North Daman-i-koh, four miles north of Bario. Outside the moat is the tomb of one of the Rajas who was forcibly converted to Islam, and stoned to death by his Katauri on his return.

## LANGUAGE—

Influences which decide the region of prevalence of a language and its boundaries

No physical boundaries between regions of prevalence of the Mālér tongue and the Mál dialect; between Bengali and Hindi, and Bengali and Uriya.

LARKA KOL—The fighting Kol of Singbhum who call themselves Ho, The Men, and the Kol meant by the term Kolarian. *v. Kolarian.*

## M.

MCCRINDLE—Mr. J. W. The author of *Ancient India*, a compilation of extracts from the Greek geographers, the authority for all references to them in this paper.

MAHANTI—A title of and synonym for the Karan (*q.v.*) of Orissa.

MAHENDRA NATH—Said to be the full name of Mahindi Raja, the Sadgop ruler of Gopbhum, whose capital Amrargarh (*q.v.*).

MAHILI—An instance of a Kolarian tribe with its communal system.

MAHINDI RAJA—By tradition the greatest of the Sadgop Rajas of Gopbhum, and founder of Amrargarh (*v. Mahendra Nath*).

MAHUAGARHI—The highest hill in *tappah* Marpal of the southern Daman-i-koh, overlooking Hendue. On its summit are the remains of Raja Khosial Sing's stone fort (*v. Khosial Sing*).

MAITHILI—The adjective of Mithila, the old for the eastern part of Hindustan north of the Ganges, the Hindu law of which is claimed by the modern Katauri of Barkop.



## MÁL—

The great Mál race of Bengal traced to the Sauria Málér.* (q. v.)	
The first link the Mál Paharia of the Daman-i-koh	11
The high status of the Mál Paharia, their claims to be Kumar or princely, and to blood relationship with the Rajput house of Sultanabad	10
The Rajbansi Mál of Burdwan	■
The Naiya and Pujahár of Deoghar and the Maulik of Jamtara subdivision and Manbhum	11
Loss of distinctive language and changes in religion and dress	15
Gradual lowering of social status	15
MALE - v. Málér	■

\* As the Mál of Bengal is the key-note to this work, I have to refer at some length to the treatment of this subject in the first edition of *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, which will be the best reference for all matters of the kind for a long time to come. In it the Mál, the Málé (as Mr. Risley calls the people who I have been referring to as Sauria Málér), and the Mál Paharia are treated in three separate articles, a method which is necessary. It adds, however, to the appearance of distinctiveness between three descriptions of people who are practically identical, and this appearance is increased by some accidental omissions and errors of description which I hope to see corrected, while incidents of the Mál which to me are clearly traceable to their origin are referred to as extremely obscure or wholly inexplicable. Thus Cleveland's system is described as applying solely to the Málér, while it applied equally to the Mál when in 1781 he included the Sultanabad and Belpatta hills in his Daman-i-koh. There is nothing in the records to show that Cleveland knew the difference. Sardar is said to be a title of the Mál Paharias. It is much more exclusively a title of the Málér. Again, following Colonel Dalton, who admittedly wrote on this subject at second hand, the Mál Paharia are said to inhabit the Ramgarh hills. These hills are separated by the Brahmini river from the modern Daman-i-koh, and in some respects are a different system from its hills. They could never have been thickly populated, but in 1881 they contained a single tiny Mál hamlet. The bulk of the Mál Paharia are in *tappah* Kumarpal (q. v.), the largest and the central division of the Daman-i-koh, and there is no natural boundary between it and the country of the Málér north of it. Part of this boundary was in dispute in 1882, and I had to examine it. The undisputed like the disputed portion followed neither the depressions nor the ridges. It deviated up hill and down dale, marked by stumps and stones, and followed the edges of the old joom cultivation. On this boundary the Mál and Málér were undistinguishable in language, habits or appearance. The identity of the Mál Paharia of Kumarpal with the Málér is so much a part of my consciousness for the five years that I was connected with them that I should probably lose sight of the true arguments necessary to demonstrate it. But, for their different religion and the fiscal boundary, it would be impossible to say where the Málér cease and the Mál begin. The word *Chet* applied by the Mál of Kumarpal to the Málér is, I believe, only their *patois* for the Hindi *Chit*, meaning *supine*, in reference to the fact that the Málér have not risen to Hinduism.

The connection of these Kumarpal with the Mál of Birbhum, Murshidabad, Burdwan, and Bankura, and therefore of all Western and Central Bengal, is, however, easily demonstrable on paper. The Birbhum district is the best link, not only for the reasons which I shall give, but because by the census of 1881 it contained more members of the Mál (as distinguished from the Mál Paharia and the Málér) than any district in Bengal. The old Birbhum district extended up to Kumarpal, pre-eminently the seat of the Mál Paharia. It contained those Ramgarh hills which Colonel Dalton says were the home of that race. It contained *tappahs* Marpal and Danrpal (q. v.) still in the Daman-i-koh, which Colonel Dalton supposed to be tribal instead of, as they are, purely local or territorial names. But it also contained Sankara (q. v.); which was and is the sole instance of a Mál Paharia Raj. The southernmost point of Sankara is not over 10 miles distant from Suri, the capital of the modern Birbhum district, while Sundardihi, to which Cleveland appointed one of his Paharia stipends, is not over 12 miles distant. South of Birbhum comes the strip of Burdwan, 12 miles wide, in which the Rajbansi Mál are found. South of it is the Bankura district to which it used to belong, while previously the Bankura district itself belonged to Burdwan. All this country, with Midnapore further south still and Manbhum on the west, is physically homogeneous. In no part of it would it be possible to say where the Mál Paharia ceased and the Mál began, and equally impossible is it to fix, as stated in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, the most primitive specimens of the Mál caste met with in Bankura.

## MALER—

The Sauria	6
Commonly called the Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills	"
Are the unadulterated remnant of the great ■■■ or Saurian race of India	"
And the representatives of the Malli, Mandei ■■ Mandali; ■■ Sabaræ, Suaræ or Suari of the Greek geographers	"
The Malli held the plains as well as the ■■■	"
Their section in the plains to the west have, with an admixture of Aryan blood, become the Hindu Katauri. (v. Katauri)	"
The Mál Paharia, the other Hinduized section of the Mälér	7
The Mál of Bengal traceable to the Mälér	10
The Sauria Mälér owe their preservation ■■ unchanged aborigines to Augustus Cleveland	13
Are in race identical with the Oraon	12
Discussion of the words Mälér, Malla, Manbhum, Mál	"
MALEUS—MONS—v. MALLUS and MANDAR	6
MALLI—	
The nation or ■■■ said by all the Greek geographers to lie next east to the Prasii of Palibothra, the metropolis of Sandracottus, and around Mons Mallus, and north of the Monedes	"
Always called by the Greeks Malli or Suari, Suaræ or Sabaræ	"
The constant ll of Malli probably meant to represent the liquidness of the l in Mälér, ■■ still pronounced	"
Compare with Malli Suari the Sauria Mälér and the Sabar	6—12
The Malli were not necessarily hillmen. The Sauria Mälér (Rajmahal hillmen) ■■ the pure remnant of the ■■■ who have found refuge in the hills	"

I have written of this country in this positive way because I know it, while I do not personally know the region of prevalence of the Mál in Murshidabad, and I never inquired into it in Nadia. A glance at the map and at the relative positions of these districts to *tappah* Kumarpal ■■■ enough to account for it. Kumarpal is the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Sultanabad, and it and its parent *pargana* belonged to what is now the Murshidabad district till Cleveland annexed them in 1781. Reverting to Birbhum, the sub-caste ■■■ of the Mál attract attention. They are Rajbansi or Raja Mál, Mallik, and Khaturia. With the Kumarbhadg or princely section in K■■arpal, and the Raj Paharia family of Sankara in Birbhum itself, the division Rajbansi or Raja-Mál, the only one known to ■■■ personally, needs ■■ accounting for. The word Mallik is, I have little doubt, a slight variation for Maulik (*q. v.*), the ■■■ by which the Mál Paharia are known in *tappah* Kundahit Koraiya of the old Birbhum district, now one of the Santal Parganas, and in the adjoining tract in Manbhum. It is Khaturia that is interesting. *Tappah* Belpatta of the old Birbhum district, which contains Marpal and Danrpál and Sankara and the Ramgarh hills, ■■■ Katauri land, and still contains a large section of the race. So was *tappah* Kundahit Koraiya, though the Katauri have shrunk away from it, leaving many of their stone remains. The connection between the northern Katauri and the Mälér—social, political and territorial—was close up till Cleveland's time and still survives. It must have been ■■ close between the southern Katauri and the ancestors of these Mál till the former were destroyed by the Bhuiya, and the severance was completed by the affiliation of the Mál to Hinduism. Conscious as I ■■■ that stress can be seldom laid on mere names, it is impossible to avoid attaching the greatest weight to them in this instance, with all its corroborations. A still more interesting and ■■ equally suggestive example is that of the Maulik or Naya (*q. v.*) who, with any one that will listen to them, cling so pathetically to their Mál or Mälér origin, and whose sub-caste ■■■ are Rajbansi, Jharia ■■ the forest folk, ■■ and SAURIA.

Again, it is by the irony of fate that I have to contradict *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* on the sole point ■■ which rested the idea, (once held by myself till I saw the people in their hills,) that the ■■■ and Mälér are ■■ different race. This is the difference in their appearance. The ■■■ undoubtedly ■■ dark. Some of them are tall. They are never stoutly built. The article on the Málé says—"The average stature is low, the complexion dark, and the figure short and sturdy." They are very small people and exhibit that levelness of stature ■■ often found in ■■ tribe which, like theirs and the Santal, keeps its homogeneity. But the Mälér ■■ fair rather than dark. Their limbs are long in proportion to their low stature, and, as Colonel Dalton says, they ■■ extremely slender in build. With their light brown faces ■■ ringleted heads, and slender graceful figures and very small extremities, they are the greatest contrast to the dark-skinned, straight-haired and heavily-built Santal.

**MALLI—concluded.**

- The chiefs and aristocracy of the Malli in the plains ■ now;  
with an admixture of Aryan blood, the Katauri 6
- The other ■ the Rajmahal hillmen and the ■ of Bengal "
- Also called Mandei and Mandali by the Greeks . . . "
- Mandali may be from Mandar (v. Mandar) . . . "

**MALLUS—**

- Mons or Maleus, the hill about which the ■ ■ Suari lay . . . "
- Its portentous shadow . . . "
- Is the Mandar hill of South Bhagalpur . . . "
- Is the Hindu's churn of the ocean . . . "
- By identifying the position of the Malli or Suari (Sauria Mälér),  
identifies that of the Prasii, and Palibothra as Patna . . . "
- As Mallus is connected with Malli, Mandali the Greek synonym  
for Malli, may be from Mandar . . . "

**MANBHUM**—A country in which the Mál ■ very prevalent; pos-  
sibly gets its name from them . . . 12

**MANDALI**— } Synonyms used by the Greek geographers for Mali,  
**MANDEI**— } cf. Malli, Mandar . . . 6

**MANDAR—**

- The ■ hill in South Bhagalpur, the Mons Mallus ■ Maleus  
of the ancients (cf. Mallus) . . . "
- Is the Hindu's churn of the ocean . . . "
- Marks the region of the Hinduized Malli (the Katauri), and is  
still the seat of the tutelary goddess of Santals and forest  
races who turn to Hinduism . . . 16
- May account for Mandali, ■ synonym of Malli . . . 6

**MANGALKOT**—On the Ajay, where it is crossed by the Badshahi road  
(q.v.), a village prolific in Hindu and Muhammadan remains . . . 20

**MANIHARI—**

- The principal *tappah* of *pargana* Bhagalpur, and seat of the  
senior branch of the Katauri chiefs which once dominated the  
whole of the Rajmahal Hills and adjoining plains . . . 7
- The survival of the Manihari chiefs and dependencies amid  
advancing Aryan Hindus, probably due to the protection of  
the Muhammadan officers at Bhagalpur . . . "

**MANJHI—**

- Dialectic Hindi for ■ middleman, and consequently used for  
the head of a village, who is representative or ■ for  
his villagers to the land-holder. The title of all Santal and  
Paharia (q.v.) village headmen . . . v. Santal
- The ■ given by ■ Santal when asked what he is by ■  
foreigner and in ■ foreign tongue, but ■ so given when  
asked in Santali or Mundari. He then ■ "Hor" (q.v.)
- The third grade of Cleveland's Paharia stipendiaries . . . v. Sardar.

**MANJHUA**—The middle place. cf. Manjhi. The old fiscal name  
of the central valley of the Daman-i-koh, not resumed from  
Manihari (q.v.) till 1837. ■ Daman-i-koh . . . 7

**MARPAL—**

- A hill *tappah* of *tappah* Belpatta (q.v.) and ■ of the parts  
of Belpatta left in the Daman-i-koh by Mr. Ward (q.v.).  
Marpal ■ the hills of the Mál (v. Pal), and it marches  
with Kumarpal (q.v.) to the north. Thus the ■ of Kumar-  
pal, lying next to the Sauria of Suarpal, and boasting of  
kinship with the Rajputs of Sultanabad, emphatically called  
their division the hills of the Kumara. The next Mál to their  
south who were allowed no such boast, as distinctively called  
their division the hills of the Mál. (v. also Danrpal) . . . 10
- The Mál of Marpal accepted a Rajput adventurer, Khosial Sing,  
as their Raja, probably to put themselves ■ the ■ social  
footing as the Kumar-bhag or Mál of Kumarpal, from whom  
the wide and deep Bansloi river divides them . . . 9
- Mr. Ward left the south-west boundary of Marpal uncertain. . . v. Ward.

The Mál are a far dirtier ■ They cut their hair short. Their unequal  
stature and darker skins may be due to their being less exclusively mountaineers,  
and to ■ admixture of alien blood. The difference between them and the  
Mälér is chiefly from their being diffused far in the plains and in other hills,  
while the Mälér ■ compactly situated in the Northern Rajmahal hills. But the  
compact body of the M ■ in the Daman-i-koh is ■ link in an unbroken chain.



## MAULIK—

The ■■■■ given by the Bengalis of *tappah* Kundahit ■■■■ya, the southernmost of the Santal Parganas, to the local ■■■■ or ■■■■ Paharia

Maulik ■ the adjective of Mul, ■ root ■ origin, and the name recognizes these Mál as distinguished from the Bhuiya ■ far more recent Santal. The position of the Maulik ■ not nearly ■ low as that of the Naiya (*q.v.*) of Deoghar, ■ doubt because the country round Deoghar is cleared and inhabited by Aryan Hindustanis, and contains ■ Santals for comparison with the Naiya. *Tappah* Kundahit Korniya which adjoins Manbhum, where the ■■■■ Maulik also is given, is still sylvan, and Bengali settlers in it ■ far less Aryan than the Hindustanis of Deoghar. ■ Mál . . . . .

MEDINIPUR—*v.* Midnapore . . . . .

MEHERA—*v.* Nandi . . . . .

MIDNAPORE—The English of Medinipur . . . . .

MITAKSHARA—Claimed by one side in the great Burdwan litigation of 1888 to 1890, while the other claimed ■ family law . . . . .

MONEDAS—The people or nation placed by the Greek geographers as next to the Prasii after the Malli, on the south-west, ■ the Gangaridæ ■■ placed ■ the south east, and therefore conjectured to be the Munda, the oldest settled and traditionally senior of the Kolarian races, contrasting with the Malli (*q.v.*) who ■ the most distinct of the northern Dravidians. The collocation of the bulk of the Munda with the old Katura country and the Málér is still the same. That is, the region of greatest Munda prevalence is the tract stretching south-west from nearly below the Mandar hill . . . . .

MUNDA—The Sanskrit for head, taken as a name by the Kolarian tribe which is thought to be the longest settled, and the most closely established to civilization of the Kolarian races. *v.* Monedes . . . . .

MUNDARI—The adjective of Munda as a tribe name . . . . .

## N.

NADIA—(Anglice Nuddea). A Brahman Raj, a phenomenon peculiar to Bengal and Orissa . . . . .

NAIYA—The name given by Aryan Hindus to the degraded Mál Paharias about Deoghar. The degradation can be variously accounted for. The claims of these people must seem ridiculously incompatible with their race and actual position to the Aryan priests and votaries who throng Deoghar in thousands. These Mál are divided from the Mál of Kumarpal (*q.v.*) by Hendue (*q.v.*) with its exclusive Katura. Finally, the tradition is still fresh that these Mál held the hills as the Katura held the plains of Sarath-Deoghar till the latter were expelled and the former subjugated by the Bhuiya. Sarath-Deoghar (*q.v.*) stretches right down to the border of Manbhum. To ■ ordinary enquirer the Naiya, who do not so call themselves, will say that they ■ Pujahar (*q.v.*). But to ■ sympathetic listener, who knows what the word Kumarpal (*q.v.*) means, they will dilate ■ their relationship to that princely section, and to their real status as Kshatriya. Their anarchic and broken state is shown by the readiness with which they emigrate. They were for many years the only emigrants from the Deoghar subdivision. Deoghar is in Hindustan, and its Hindi-speaking people do not use the Bengali word Maulik (*q.v.*) for the Naiya. The Naiyas' own word for themselves, Pujahar, is probably ■ protest against the repudiation and contempt of the Hindu Aryan votaries among whom they are ■ found . . . . .

## NAMES—

Instances of names of castes and titles in Bengal, like Raut for Rajput, which ■ either forms of phonetic decay, ■ are intentional approaches to ■ of higher rank, the assumption of which in full would have been punishable, or are avoidances of ■ of reproach. *cf.* Babhan, Barm, Charral, Khatura, Khetri, Kotal, Teli . . . . .

Instances of trading on such name resemblances . . . . .

■ Mál

8  
82  
8

■

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11  
11

Preface ii.

11

10  
80

NANDI—A mistake for Mehera in describing the four divisions of the Khetri	PAGE.
NAROTTAM—The traditional Raja of the stone fort at Churulia (q.v.) of whom nought but the ■■■■ survives	32
	4

## O.

ORAON—	
Identical in race and language with the Mälér (q.v.) and Sabar (q.v.)	12
Contrast with the Mälér in industrious character. Reasons for the difference	"
Called Dhangar in the places to which they emigrate for work.	"

## P.

PACHETE—The English for Panchkot (q.v.)	4
PAHARIA—Hindi phonetic for <i>pahari</i> . The name indiscriminately used by Cleveland and his successor for the Mälér and Mäl of the Daman-i-koh, and still used in precisely the same way by the Hindustanis and Bengalis of the adjacent plains; that is, ■■■■ caste name	7
PAIK—The lowest rank of the rural militia, holding service land in Western Bengal, now converted into village police	30
PAKAUR— } The capital of <i>pargana</i> Ambar (q.v.), often used to	
PAKUR— } denote that <i>pargana</i>	
PAL— } Most often pronounced <i>pel</i> and <i>pehi</i> . The termination of	
PALI— } the four names of the hill divisions Sumarpal or Suarpal (or Pali), Kumarpal, Marpal, and Danrpal, (q.v.) erroneously said by Colonel Dalton to distinguish four distinct tribes of Paharias (q.v.). This has been a long-standing puzzle to enquirers. Mr. Skrefsrud assured ■■■■ that the word was the Turkish <i>khail</i> , a tribe. After several comparisons I am still more confident that it is simply the Mäl Paharia <i>patois</i> for the Hindi <i>pahar</i> or <i>pahari</i> , a hill or range of hills. The word Marpal for Malpabar, the hills of the Mäl, is ■■■■ sufficiently good instance of this common transposition	10
It is a fair conjecture that the Paharia of <i>pargana</i> Sultanabad gave these names when they formed their alliance with its Rajput house and became its subjects, and Mäl instead of Mälér, and Kumarbhadg instead of plain Mäl, and Hindu. The country of the still heathen Sauria who bordered them on the north was naturally Suarpal. The hills of their brethren on the south who, though Mäl, were not ennobled by the Rajput alliance, and who moreover were dependents of Birbhum, were called Marpal, the hills of the Mäl. Danrpal is not so easy to account for, but with it and Marpal this nomenclature ceased, because next ■■■■ Sankara, constituted by its chiefs like a Bengal taluk, of which they styled themselves the Rajas. (v. Sankara)	10—13
PANCHKOT—	
■ Pachete. The name of a mountain in Manbhum ■■■■ the confluence of the Barakar with the Damodar, and of ■■■■ Hindu State the capital of which lies beneath this hill, of great antiquity and extent. Panchkot lay west of and next to the realms of Bishtupur and Birbhum. The word means fifty millions, supposed to refer to the number of chief-jaincies or <i>parganas</i> which it denominated, and when the English obtained it in 1760 ■■■■ dependency of Burdwan, by which it had been conquered, it ■■■■ supposed to extend to the borders of Bombay. Its chiefs claim to be Rajputs, though no acknowledged Rajputs will intermarry with them. In appearance they show a very large admixture of Aryan blood	2
Pargana Shergarh belonged for the most part to Panchkot, and its capital and fort Dihi Shergarh, with much scattered revenue-free land, still does so	4
PANDRA—A Hindu State or zamindari of Manbhum, wedged between the Birbhum and Panchkot realms. It, too, had a share in the debateable <i>pargana</i> Shergarh	"

**PARTHALIS**—According to the Greeks the capital of the Gangarides (*q. v.*) and identified ■ Burdwan. But the history of the Burdwan Khetri (*q. v.*) and the Aguri (*q. v.*) shows that the Aryans in Burdwan ■ of very recent arrival, while those ■ found had no predecessors unless a few Brahman missionaries; I therefore conjecture the Bagdi and Māl to have been the Gangarides and Bishtupur (*q. v.*), the capital of their kings, to have been Parthalia. Burdwan has no such remnants of antiquity ■ Bishtupur

15

**PASSAI**—One of the Santal Parganas, a dependency of the Bhuiya State Lachmipur, and so at the British accession of Kharakpur. With the little *pargana* of Godda on its north it is interjected between the Katauri Chiefship Hendue (*q. v.*) and the other Katuari possessions. *Parganas* Passai and Godda represent the area of the Katauri chiefship *tappah* Usila, which was overrun and obliterated by the Bhuiya. It is open cleared country, which may account for this interruption to the line of Katauri possessions, and it abounds with Katauri remains. It, unlike all the other domains, except Hendue, which border the Daman-i-koh, had no share in the hills, no doubt because the Mālér of Sumarpal (*q. v.*) which it subtends sought the protection of the Brahman ■ of Ambar to which Cleveland found Sumarpal attached; and the Bhuiya with their new Hinduism particularly dreaded the Brahman. The Bhuiya peasants of Passai, who are very numerous, are Sing Bhuiya and Surajbansi, like their head, the house of Lachmipur *q. v.*

17—9—22

**PATHAN**—

The Pathan Rajas of Birbhūm and Kharakpur . . . . . 7

The first Aryan invaders who permanently stayed in Bengal in great numbers . . . . . Preface ii.

**PATSANDA**—

One of the Santal Parganas. A *tappah* of *pargana* Bhagalpur.

The most northern of the minor Katauri chiefships sprung from Manihari . . . . . 7

Its chiefs retain the title Barm (*q. v.*) . . . . . 32

**PEL**—

**PELI**— } . . . . . v. Pal.

✓ **PONTET**—Mr. James Pontet was the senior Deputy Collector in Bengal, and in 1836 was appointed with the express object of settling Santals, Superintendent of the Daman-i-koh. This word (*q. v.*) was for this appointment used in its most technical sense, for Mr. Pontet was to have nothing to do with the hills and hillmen, and with the working of Regulation I of 1796 (*q. v.*), but only with the culturable slopes and valleys. The distinction was impracticable, as some of the best arable land is on the flat hill tops. It was mischievous and had much to do with the Santal rebellion (*v. Santal*), for which Mr. Pontet was most unjustly blamed by Sir F. Halliday's Government. Mr. Pontet was the first to reach the scene of outbreak, where he was seized and conveyed to safety, by the Santals themselves, ■ they could not answer for their young man, once ■ began. He was removed soon after from the Superintendentship, and died broken-hearted in 1857. There is ■ so revered among the Santals as that of Ponteen, ■ they call him, and they delight to tell of his constant ■ for them, his justness, his incorruptibility (which was exposed to much temptation), and his scrupulous dealings with themselves for the supplies they brought him. Yet his position ■ very weak, and would have been altogether untenable but for the support given to him by the Board of Revenue. He had ■ criminal powers. The police used to harass him, and successive young Magistrates of Bhagalpur to snub and thwart him, while he always stood in well-founded dread of the Civil Courts whose action ■ the real proximate ■ of the Santal rebellion. He was somewhat inarticulate. His first duty was to ascertain Mr. Ward's (*q. v.*) boundaries, and in doing ■ he became conscious that the Resumption Commissioner of the day had decreed to *pargana* Ambar (*q. v.*) the whole



## POSTSCRIPT—concluded.

of *tappah* Sumarpal (*q. v.*) which Cleveland *■* taken from it in 1781 to form his Daman-i-koh. He at *■* wrote a strong and not grammatical protest direct to the Resumption Commissioner, and though the error was afterwards rectified, he never recovered from the rebukes showered *■* him from all sides for his presumption. He raised the revenue of the Daman-i-koh from *■* minus quantity to Rs. 80,000 annually, which has since risen to nearly two lakhs; and he performed the feat of dividing it into *mauzas* and fiscal *■* corresponding with *parganas* which he called bungalows; and this without the aid of *■* map, though it has been found quite possible to map his divisions with accuracy. Owing to his being severed from charge of the hillmen, he *■* ignorant of their existing fiscal divisions, with which his bungalow areas do not correspond

**PRASHI**—The name by which Megasthenes calls the Hindu nation at whose capital, Palibothra, he dwelt. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt calls them Prachya. The Malli (*q. v.*) lay east of them, and the Monedes (*q. v.*) beyond the Malli to the south-west, and the Gangarides (*q. v.*) beyond the Malli to the south-east

**PUJAHAR**—The *■* by which the Naiya (*q. v.*) of Deoghar call themselves to their Hindi neighbours. In *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* there *■* to be some mistake about the words Pujaha and Pujhor therein given

■ Santal.

6

11

## R.

**RAI**—The Rai Bhuiya in the Santal Parganas *■* distinguished from the Singh Bhuiya, as the clansmen of the house of Lachmipur (*q. v.*) style themselves

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**RAJAMARA**—A site at the eastern edge of Hindue (*q. v.*), where the Bansloi enters the hills, and under Mahuagarhi (*q. v.*) where Khosial Singh, the pretender Rajput Raja of Marpal, was slain in battle with the Katauri Raja of Hindue (*v.* Khosial Sing and Marpal)

9

**RAJBANSI MAL**—Mál of royal race, the *■* by which the Mál of Burdwan call themselves, indicating their connection with the Mál of Kumarpal and Sankara (*q. v.*)

5

**RAJGARH**—The large and strong fort, with ramparts faced with brick and several fine brick buildings which Raja Chitra Sen Rai of Burdwan built on the western *■* of Gopbhum

19

**RAJMAHAL HILLS**—The general name for Cleveland's Daman-i-koh; that is, the ranges of hills *■* or less continuous beginning at the Ganges between Colgong and Rajmahal and ending at Sundar Dihi in *tappah* Mahamadabad of the Santal Parganas, bordering the present Birbhum district

13

**RAJSHAHI**—

The *■* by which the people of the Sonthal Parganas call the land outside their eastern boundary, whether in the Murshidabad or Birbhum districts, because it *■* belonged to the Rajshahi district

v. Santal Parganas.

"The vastest zamindari in India." (Mr. Sarishtadar Grant in the Fifth Report.) Instance of the phenomenon of *■* great Brahman temporality, peculiar to Bengal and Orissa, and deduction therefrom

Preface ii.

**REGULATION I OF 1796** (The successive regulations enacted to **REGULATION I OF 1827** legalize Cleveland's protective system for the Paharias, but by a grave blunder not applied to the Santals (*v.* Cleveland and Santal)

■ Ward.

**REGULATION XXIX OF 1814**—

The Regulation which confirmed Mr. Scott's settlement in 1813 of *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar (*q. v.*)

■ Scott.

Sarath Deoghar is the only part of India to which *■* applies

v. Sarath-Deoghar.

**ROSHAN BAKHT**—The name of the Tili who was zamindar of *pargana* Tiliagarhi (*q. v.*) after his conversion to Islam

10

SABAR ■ SAUR—A scattered tribe found for the most part in Orissa and its Garhjat, and in the similar country of the Northern Circars, which used to be regarded ■ the representatives of the Sabaræ, Suaræ, or Suari of the Greek geographers, now sufficiently identified with the Sauria Mâlér. The Sabar are essentially Dravidian according to the ■ in which that term is employed in this note, though the tongue used by some of them is said to be related to that of most of the tribes classed as Kolarian. I have ■ met any of the Sabar. All enquiries about them ■ to the belief that they ■ a fragment of the ■ represented by the Mâlér, Mâl and Oraon, though their name, it must be acknowledged, has been a strong inducement to this . . . . .	12
SABARÆ—v. Malli, Sabar, Sauria . . . . .	6
SADGOP—	
One of the four great and distinctive castes of Burdwan . . . . .	1
Its origin traceable to Gopbhum (q. v.), ■ its chief seat and west of which it is not found . . . . .	26
Meaning of the name . . . . .	"
The Sadgop nevertheless repudiate all connection with the Gop ■ Goala, actual or mythological . . . . .	"
High social status and Aryan character . . . . .	"
The ■ for above conjectured . . . . .	27
Alliances with the Khetri of Burdwan and reasons for. A common instance of the kind . . . . .	18
Part progenitors of the Aguri (q. v.)* . . . . .	"
ALIMPUR—A small pargana of deltaic character, very fertile and wholly cleared, at the south-west edge of Gopbhum (q. v.) of which it is said to have formed a part under the chiefs of Kaksa (q. v.) and Bharatpur (q. v.) till wrested from them by Muhammadan* adventurers. The ■ is also said to be contracted from Sulaimanpur, after ■ of the kings of Bengal . . . . .	1
SAMANTA—	
The Sanskrit for leader, a common title of the Sadgop and other of the Nabasakh in Western Bengal, and when so taken is in common parlance invariably pronounced Saont . . . . .	17
Another name for Silda, ■ territory and large pargana in Midnapore on the border of Singhbhum, whence the immigrant Santals discovered in the Godda pargana by Mr. Ward in 1828 deposed that they had come . . . . .	v. Ward and Santal.
This derivation of the word Santal or Sontal, which is still called and spelt Saontal in vernacular, is alluded to by Colonel Dalton and was first put forward by ■ in ■ official report of March 1881 on the origin and causes for the disturbances which had just taken place. It was welcomed ■ a discovery by Mr. John Beames, and has, I ■ from page 224, Vol. II of <i>The Tribes and Castes of Bengal</i> , been appropriated, though with a good deal of confusion, by the Rev. L. O. Skreksrud. Saontal cannot be a corruption of Saontar, since it is an essentially Bengali form, the immediate example for which among several others is <i>dantal</i> , from <i>danta</i> — <i>danta-wala</i> , ■ tusker (toar or elephant). For the Hindi pronunciation Saontar, which is still current, there are many examples. v. Marpal and Pal above. Nor ■ I aware that Silda in Midnapore is ever called Saont, the contracted form of the personal title, though it is called Samanta. The word Samanta-wala falling into the contraction, Soantal, as the ■ of an agent, ■ quite different from the examples of formation of the names of places. Nor did I ever gather that the Santal had sojourned for longer than ■ brief rallying time, and ■ at ■ rallying point, in Silda . . . . .	"

\* The division among the Sadgop which ranks highest is called the Kunr or Kunwar division. This word Kunwar is admittedly Kumar, prince. The same pronunciation is often noticed among the ■ Paharia in Kumarbhag and Kumarpal, and it ■ another instance of a word blurred ■ altered because the full word could not be taken. v. Names.

**SAMANTA—concluded.**

As in Bengal all trans-frontier Pathans, even if Khorasani Baluch, are called Kabuli, or as in the Santal Parganas all Hindustani money-lenders, Marwaris, are called Bhojpuria because the first and most conspicuous of their kind came from Bhojpur in Shahabad, so would a remarkable people the Santal on their first appearance in Burdwan and Birbhum be called after the place whence some of them were known to have come. Beyond it all unknown, and the phonetic exigencies of its fixed the form of word to designate the name of Samanta. It is to be remembered that the Santal themselves never call themselves unless in self-abasement. Their name for themselves, to themselves and to their friends, is Hor; to strangers it is Manjhi. Their classic name is Kharwar (*q. v.*) *v.* Santal . . . . .

12-17

**SANKARA—**

The name of the group of Rajmahal Hills (*q. v.*) south of Marpal, separate from it by the Brahmini, which is the southern boundary of the present Daman-i-koh . . . . .

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A taluk or Paharia Raj, the only instance of the kind under the Court of Wards since 1855. It was formed by Cleveland's including Sankara, which he only knew of by hearsay, with the rest of Belpatta, in his Daman-i-koh, and assigning a set of stipends to it. Thereupon its Chief Tribhuban Singh (*q. v.*) began to plunder his neighbours in Birbhum of their property and lands, while he obtained immunity from the consequences by pleading his privileges as a Paharia, and later by Regulation I of 1796. This plan was still more actively followed by his son and successor, Suar or Sumar Sing (*q. v.*), and being discovered by Mr. Ward in 1829, he indignantly cut off Sankara from the Daman-i-koh, and with it all the hills south of the Brahmini, to which the same reasons did not apply. But he left the stipends untouched, and these were not resumed till 1879 . . . . .

14

The Mál of Sankara, though fast disappearing, excellently illustrate the steps by which the Mál are traced . . . . .

The Sankara family ruled by the Privy Council to be governed by *Dayábhaga*, a decision which is still the wonderment of the neighbouring Hindus. In 1868 it seemed as if nothing could save Sankara from sale and extinction, and to avert the impending ruin the heads of the family seized and sacrificed an unfortunate Bhojpuri trader the top of Singini Math (the horned head), their highest hill, and this after they were governed by *Dayábhaga*. The decision was the precedent for the modern Katura of Barkop claiming the Maithili law. (*v.* Barkop.) The Kumarpal Paharia would doubtless claim *Mitakshara* if occasion arose . . . . .

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**SANTAL OR SONTAL—**

This word is generally spelt in vernacular Saontal or Saontar, *v.* Samanta. A Kolarian tribe, the first mention of which in English records known to me occurs in Sutherland's report of 1818. (*v.* Sutherland.) He met a few individuals of the tribe whom he calls Soutars on the extreme southern edge of the present Daman-i-koh, and notes their celebrity as hardworking "farmers." There were none of them in the Daman-i-koh. Ten years later Mr. Ward reported their presence in large numbers the west face of the Daman-i-koh, and was desired to examine their spokesmen and ascertain who they were. A number of depositions are appended to the report given by him in compliance. All are to the effect, that they had left and were still leaving Singhbhum because of the disturbances there, and only sought waste lands which they might clear for rice cultivation for which they would pay rent. No orders passed this report; but in 1832 Mr. Ward, without authority, and in the teeth of the orders of Government which reserved the Daman-i-koh for its existing residents, settled four Santal villages in its Godda pargana and assessed them to rents aggregating Rs. 3,000. Of this he boasted when his demarcation business was wound up in 1833, but it remained unnoticed. In 1836, on the recommendation of Mr. Dunbar, then Collector of Bhagalpur, and afterwards a Member of the Board of



## SANTAL OR SONTAL—continued.

Revenue, Mr. James Pontet (*q.v.*) appointed to be Deputy Collector and Superintendent of the Daman-i-koh, in the strictest sense of that word (*v.* Daman-i-koh), in order to have it cleared and cultivated by Santals, who thenceforward began to pour into it from the south and west. The fatal mistake was made of excluding them from the system provided by Regulation I of 1827 (*q.v.*), and they became a prey to the local police and Civil Courts and to the money-lenders from Rhojpur who settled among them, while outside the Daman-i-koh they were similarly oppressed by the zamindars. They were also ill-treated by the underlings of the railway then being constructed to Rajmahal. So in July 1855 they rose in bloody rebellion which began close to Barhait, the capital of the Daman-i-koh, and extended to all the immigrant Santals of Bhagalpur, Birbhum, Eastern Hazaribagh and Northern Manbhum, but did not affect the old settled Santals to the south and west. The cry of the revolt was death to the police, to the mahajans, to the Civil Court officers, to the railway sahibs, and to the zamindars; in particular to Sumar Sing (*q.v.*), the Paharia Raja or talukdar of Sankara, whose natural death just then saved him from a worse fate. Some members of all the other classes were either killed by arrows or hewn to pieces. On two occasions British columns were overwhelmed and cut to pieces by the insurgents, whose tactics were those of the Zulu in 1879, and whose deadliest weapons were their axes. They sustained, however, a crushing defeat at Sangrampur from a wing of the Paharia Hill Ranger Corps commanded by Captain Fagan. Some 8,000 troops were subsequently employed; the hills were hemmed in, and it is estimated that 10,000 Santals perished in the operations. The Paharias were levied against them, though it subsequently appeared that for the most part they had befriended the refugee insurgents. The revolt was speedily put down, and the elder of the two brothers who had originally headed it was hanged by Mr. Pontet at Barhait. The word Kharwar (*q.v.*) does not appear in the records of this time. Colonel Dalton had heard of it before 1872, and in 1871 our officers became aware of a revivalist movement among the Santals, the adherents of which were calling themselves Kharwar. This movement, which is still in progress, has given much trouble from time to time since, and was prominent in the disturbances of 1880-81, when it was closely investigated by the present writer. The accounts given varied, but were unanimous that Kharwar was the old name of the Santal, and that, when they were Kharwar, they were a self-governed race and had not to pay rent for the land which they had made productive. But the Kharwar also affected Hinduism. They called themselves Safa Hor, or the pure men, and an individual's full title was Ram Hindu Kharwar. Their deity was the goddess of Mandar (*q.v.*), and they eschewed pigs, fowls as well as alcohol, though they used ganja in its place. The explanation of this phase was that the Santal or Kharwar had never been able to attain prosperity or prominence while keeping to their animistic faith while the Bhuiya had preserved their greatness by becoming Hindu, and it was necessary for the Santal to do likewise.

It is not clear how far Mr. Risley in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* thinks the accounts of the later immigrations of the Santal to be authentic, or if he knew of Mr. Sutherland's and Mr. Ward's records on the subject. He observes that their recent movements have been, as might have been expected, to the east. It is to be added that they will not move, and are not found, beyond the laterite soil. For many years past they have crossed to Malda, but they will not settle there in spite of the attractions of its jungle. Attempts have frequently been made to settle them in the sub-Himalayan tracts which they visit as temporary labourers, but have failed, though the journey by land from Santalia is easy. A colony of Christian Santals has been formed in Kamrup, but languishes and requires

## SANTAL OR SONTAL—concluded.

considerable expenditure. The present writer has used their acquaintance with him to bring them over in large numbers to the Chittagong Hills, but though offered virgin soil on the most favourable terms, with advances ■ which to start, they refuse to settle ■ to engage for longer than a year, and for fear of being importuned they will not bring their bows or axes, or, while in these hills, which swarm with game, engage in hunting, at which they are incomparable.

As regards their seat before they were in Singhbhum and Silda, the main relevant fact ■ have is that the Damodar ■ to them what the Ganges is to the Hindu. The river is a long way from the Daman-i-koh, and is remote from the nearest point to it of the Santal Parganas. Yet parties of Santals from the extreme north ■ often met journeying to cast into it the bones of ■ revered member of the tribe. Still more distant was the Damodar from Silda, and it is natural to believe that their traditions of Champa and of Chai ■ ■ accurate as their recollection of the Damodar and of the name Kharwar.

## SANTAL PARGANAS—

The district formed from parts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur by Act XXXVII of 1855. The linguistic and ethnic lines between Hindustan and Bengal, rigidly drawn according to territory and not by natural boundaries, are shown by it in an interesting way. The district is formed of or from the following territories, beginning from the northernmost point, the Tiliagarhi stone fort, which is commonly and with accuracy said to be the gate between Hindustan and Bengal south of the Ganges:—

- (1) The part of *pargana* Tiliagarhi south of the Ganges. The northern portion is in the Purnea district. The *pargana* was the zamindari of Roshan Bakshi, who had been a Tili.
- (2) Some coparcenary property of Muhammadan officers and nobles of Rajmahal.
- (3) *Pargana* Ambar belonging to the Brahman house of Pakaur, its capital.
- (4) *Pargana* Sultanabad belonging to the Rajput house of Moheshpur, its capital.
- (5) Five great *tappans* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum.
- (6) Territory of the Pathan Raj of Kharakpur, including the Katauri Chiefship Hendue, and the Bhuiya *pargana* Passai.
- (7) The other three Katauri Chiefships.

The Kharakpur and Katauri territory is in Hindustan. The rest is in Bengal. The linguistic and (as regards Aryan or semi-Aryan) ethnic lines of boundary correspond with sharp distinct- ■ with the territorial boundaries except in the huge *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar of the Birbhum Raj. Its northern part is distinctly Hindi, its south-eastern part is distinctly Bengali, and elsewhere the line is confused, Hindi preponderating. The explanation ■ to be that it was Katauri land, and then Bhuiya land conquered by Birbhum. The Katauri territory is and was Hindustan. The Birbhum territory was Bengal. The Bhuiya of Lachmipur and Passai (and of South Bihar) speak Hindi. All other Bhuiya speak Bengali, Uriya, Telugu or Kanari.

Of this territory only that of the Birbhum Raj belonged to the Birbhum district. The rest belonged to Bhagalpur, which was a very composite district as Ambar and Sultanabad ■ purely Bengali.

## SARATH-DEOGHAR—

One of the Santal Parganas bordering on Manbhum and Hazaribagh. A *tappah* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum, nearly 800 square miles in extent. It contains the whole of the Deoghar subdivision and extends far into the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions. It used also to contain Pabia, once a *ghatvati*, now ■ large independent *pargana* under a Bhuiya Raja. It is territorially in Bengal (v. Santal Parganas), but ethnically and linguistically for the most part in Hindustan, to which, as Katauri country, it used to

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belong. The Katauri were driven out by the Bhuiya, (who now hold it,) leaving many Katauri remains, and many fragments of their congenor and subject race the Māl, but ■ individuals of their own caste. The Bhuiya were subjugated by the joint efforts of the Pathans of Birbhum and Kharakpur, and Sarath-Deoghar fell to the former's share and Lachmipur (q.v.) to the latter's, though it retained ■ fief in Sarath-Deoghar. The Bhuiya ■ turbulent, and the Birbhum Raja compounded with them by making them *ghatwals* or wardens holding their taluks as service fiefs on low quit-rents. The British Government accepted this arrangement, but finding the exaction of police service difficult and irregular, and their quarrels with the Raja of Birbhum incessant, deputed in 1813 Mr. David Scott (q.v.) to make a settlement, which was confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, and Sarath-Deoghar is the only part of India to which that law applies. The whole *tappah* except ■ few acres in the town of Deoghar, is divided into *ghatwalis*, some of which are very considerable and important taluks. One, that of Karon (q.v.), was resumed by ■ Raja of Birbhum and bestowed on a Mahratta Brahman who had extricated him from ■ difficulty with the Viceroy at Murshidabad, and this Brahman family still hold it, though exempt from *ghatwali* service. Of the *ghatwals* the great majority are Bhuiya, and from this fact the Bhuiya of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum call themselves *ghatwal* (q.v.) by caste.

The exceptions are strange. One is an Englishman and one a Scotchman, the creations of Sir George Yule in 1858, when he was Commissioner of the Santal Parganas. The most illustrious of them, the *Ghatwal* of Ruhini in which Deoghar lies, is a connection of the Rajput houses of Khaira (q.v.) and Gidhaur, whose ancestors are said to have obtained the appointment and fief partly by conquest. Another *ghatwal*, of whom much the same story is told, is ■ Bhuinhar or Babhan. The *Ghatwal* of Sarath is a Hindi Kayath or Lala. Another is ■ Bengali Sunri. He bought his post and tenure. The Bhuiya Raja of Tundi in Manbhum is a *ghatwal*, as is, ■ already noticed, the Raja of Lachmipur in Bhagalpur.

Sarath, with its capital lying on the Ajay under the Phuljori mountain, is the central *ghatwali*. It contains many old remains and was no doubt the Katauri capital, as there ■ nothing else to distinguish it. Deoghar is in the extreme north of the *tappah* and contains the temples of Baidyanath. After careful enquiry I satisfied myself that the word was Deoghar, and had never been Deogarh, a fact which shows that the name cannot be very ancient.

Though in 1855 the Santal insurgents were very active and did much damage in Sarath-Deoghar, there ■ few Santals settled in it, and the central part, which is very Hindustani in character, is quite free from them. The indigenous people are the Naiya (q.v.), who are fast disappearing. The Bhuinhar or Babhan are numerous and influential, though ■ subordinates. The country is cleared and open with isolated hills, some of great beauty, rising here and there. Except for the verdure round them, they recall the similar fastnesses of the Boya in Telingāna.

## SARDAR—

The title acknowledged by Cleveland for his Paharia stipendiaries who were heads of *parganas*. Next to them came their lieutenants called *Naibs*, who ■ kinsmen of the *Sardar*. The heads of individual hills or villages were called *Manjhias*. These titles could not be held independently of the stipends, though they were no doubt the Paharias' own titles for themselves.

The title of headmen among the Bagdi.

SAURIA—The name by which the Mālér always described themselves, generally in conjunction with the word Mālér (q.v.). To English ears Sauria (Anglice Sowreea) is the unmistakeable and plain pronunciation of the word by Paharias. Bengalis and Hindustanis ■ to have great difficulty in rendering



## SAURIA—concluded.

- it and always do ■ with a suggestion of the sounds of b or v or m or n or u, or with all combined. The locally famous Dumka Peshkar, Lala Bhawani Charan, who had served with Mr. Pontet, and whose home ■ under the Rajmahal Hills, used to call the word, *sans façon*, Sumariya, as his only way of getting round it. Compare with this Sumarpal (*q.v.*), though this pronunciation is also used ■ ■ rhyming contrast to Kumarpal (*q.v.*); compare also Sabar (*q.v.*) or Sawar, and the various pronunciations for it and the various synonyms for Málé given in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. The Prasii of old seem to have felt the ■ difficulty; hence the varying forms Sabaræ and Suari or Suaræ of the Greek geographers for the Sauria Málér 6
- SAURPAL—The hills of the Sauria (*q.v.*). The Sauria pronunciation for Sumarpal (*q.v.*). The note ■ it is given under the latter form because the name was extraneously given in that form and not by the Sauria 10
- SAYYID SAYYID BOKHARI.—The ancestor of the Muhammadan Aymadars of Kaksa (*q.v.*), who is said to have conquered that State 19
- ✓ SCOTT—Mr. David. A young Civil Servant, afterwards distinguished in Northern Bengal and Assam, who was sent to settle the *Ghatwals* of Sarath-Deoghar in 1813. He was well treated by them, for his report describes them as a manly race, surrounded by "numerous armed retainers," whose police arrangements were quite adequate. He revised, by compromises, their quit-rents, and his memoranda of these, with his report, are the only records of his settlement which was confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814. In 1879 Sarath-Deoghar was found with greatly increased revenues and inhabitants, with ■ comparatively criminal population, and with a far more inadequate rural police than any area in the district. Search began to be made for the "numerous armed retainers" described by Mr. Scott, and for ■ for enforcing the *ghatwals*' obligations. In the ■ of the enquiry the aged Bhuinbar *Ghatwal* of Bawanganwa (*v.* Sarath-Deoghar) was examined. He remembered "Amin Scott Sahib's" visit well, and gave valuable testimony as to the conditions which Mr. Scott thought adequate. They then began to be enforced v. Sarath-Deoghar.
- SELYE—The English for Silibati (*q.v.*), ■ river of Midnapore, pronounced like Selye; analogous to Ajay (*q.v.*) from Ajavati 2
- SENPAHARI—A *pargana* intersected by the Ajay and formed by Raja Chitra Sen out of portions of Gopbhum, Shergarh and Birbhum at their trijunction. In the portion south of the Ajay is a table-land (*pahuri*) on which are Raja Chitra Sen's fort and seven cannon engraved in Persian letters with the words "Raja Chitra Sen Rai." (*v.* Chitra Sen) 17
- SHEOHAR—The transliterated spelling of the zamindari called Sur (*q.v.*) 27
- SHERGARH —
- By far the largest *pargana* of Burdwan which comprises almost the whole of the Raniganj subdivision, and contains fragments of *pargana* Kantanagar (*q.v.*) 3
- A wilderness and debateable land disputed for by Bishtupur, Pachete, Pandra and Birbhum, bearing traces of them all 4
- Hastings took advantage of its state to appropriate ■ part of it for *pargana* Kantanagar "
- Its capital, Dihi Shergarh, belongs, with much of its land, to Pachete "
- Conquered by and settled with Burdwan . . . . . " 3
- Is the Baori land of Burdwan . . . . . " 3
- Is the coal-field of Bengal . . . . . " "
- Contains several stone remains of great antiquity ascribed to the modern huse of Burdwan. Probably Katuari remains, like those at Karon (*q.v.*), not very distant 4
- Contains most of the Rajbansi Mál (*q.v.*) ■ Mál of Burdwan 5
- SIBU SUNDARI—A Paharia Rani. The disqualified proprietress of taluk Sankara (*q.v.*) 14
- SILIBATI—*v.* Selye and *cf.* Kansabati . . . . . ■

## SING—

Title now fashionable among the Katauri chiefs instead of Barm (*q.v.*). (None but chiefs take either title. Hendue has alone had Sing. Patsanda still retains Barm. In Barkop the old party have Barm and the ■■■ party Sing)

32

Taken ■■■ title by the ■■■ of the Daman-i-koh and Sankara (*q.v.*)

14

Taken as a title by the Bhuiya peasantry of *pargana* Passai ■■■ mark of relationship to the house of Lachmipur (*q.v.*)

SIRCAR—The Honourable Mahendra Lal—is a representative of too Rajas of Gopbhum

19

SKREFSRUD—The Revd. L. O. His derivation of Pal-Pali, or Pel-Peli (*q.v.*) His derivation of Santal (*q.v.*)

v. Pal

## SONTEAL—

v. Santal. (The spelling Sontal is as accurate.)

The spelling of Santal or Sontal prescribed by the Bengal Government in 1892.\*

## STIPENDS—

The allowances granted by Cleveland to the chiefs of *parganas* (Sardars), their deputies (Naibs), and the headmen of hills (Manjhis), in his Daman-i-koh. These stipends aggregated over Rs. 15,000 a year, and though Mr. Sutherland in 1818 pointed out that Cleveland had not meant them to be perpetual, and the Government in 1825 ordered them to be resumed ■■■ opportunity arose, they remained absolutely unchanged in amount till 1879, when they began to be resumed for misconduct, and not to be regranted to others as had been the practice. This practice was the consequence of the divided control over the Daman-i-koh which prevailed from 1784, when Cleveland died, till 1872. His Sazawal and Lieutenant, Abdul Rasul Khan, had it till 1818. From 1826 till 1833 Mr. Ward had the demarcation, but not the internal control, and no one else went near it. From 1836 till 1856 Mr. Pontet had the valleys and the Magistrate of Bhagalpur the hills. From 1856 till 1872 it was controlled by the Sub-District Officers of Rajmahal, Godda, Pakaur and Dumka, none of whom knew the history, while their Deputy Commissioner had become a purely judicial officer residing at Bhagalpur. Sir George Campbell put a stop to this state of things and made Dumka the capital of the Santal Parganas

23

In 1882 I proposed a settlement with the Paharias. They were to get records of their property (of which they have none, a constant source of dispute and litigation) by a survey, and of their rights. The only records are of their privileges. In return they were to pay the Rs. 12,000 to which the stipends had by them been reduced instead of Government's doing so by ■■■ assessment which would have come to about an anna per acre. The Bengal Government assented to the scheme provided the *Paharias* would accept it. This they would not do

## STRACHEY—

Sir H. A., Magistrate of Midnapore, whose most interesting account of that district is printed in the famous Fifth Report of 1812

Was shown a basketful of *Paharia* heads by the Magistrate of Birbhum

## SUARAE—

}. v. Malli, Sabar, Sauria

11

## SUARI—

6

SUARPAL—Variant of Saurpal or Sumarpal (*q.v.*)

10

## SULTANABAD—

One of the Santal Parganas. A *pargana* of Rajshahi (*q.v.*) transferred in 1781, at Cleveland's instance, to Bhagalpur to complete his Daman-i-koh. It is ■■■ culiar in stretching right across the hills, and part of it lies ■■■ their west face. This is an accident due to Mr. Ward's very hasty demarcation of that face in 1833, as *pargana* Sult. nabad included nothing westward of its hill *tappah* Kumarpal (*q.v.*) from which Mr. Ward's line curtailed this western portion, thus restoring it to the zamindari

9

\* The spelling of Bhagalpur and Belpatta in the Regulations is Boglepore and Bheelputta.

## ■ULTANABAD—concl'd.

The house of Sultanabad ■ Rajput of acknowledged purity, and though I knew the late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Sing, husband of the proprietress, well, ■ could ■ elicit the history of its settlement. It has entire control over the northern section of the Māl, who hold *tappah* Kumarpal and call themselves the Kumarbhag, and they claim blood relationship with it, while they hold ■ connection with their real kinsmen, the Katauri of Hendue, which marches with their western boundary. I think this to be explicable in the ■ way as the, in ■ respect, similar instance of Sumarpal (q.v.). That is, while the zamindars of Ambar, by virtue of being Brahmans, protected the Mālér of Sumarpal from the Bhuiya hordes on the west, who had overrun and obliterated the Katauri of Usila, so the Rajputs of Sultanabad protected the hillmen adjoining them, and gained their allegiance; but according to Rajput wont, by first making and acknowledging them to be Hindu and then marrying their daughters. The fact that Hendue became ■ part of the Kharakpur Raj showed that it too, though not extinguished, was overrun by the Bhuiya, and this is the only way of accounting for the severance of its connection with the hills which is held ■ firmly by all the other Katauri chiefships

10

SUMAR SING OR SUAR SINGH.—A Māl Paharia. The self-styled Raj and recognised talukdar of Sankara (q.v.). He consolidated the raj or taluk, which his father Tribhuban Sing had begun to form by robbing his neighbours of their lands under the protection of Regulation I of 1796. He thought the Sankara Sardar's stipend below his dignity and transferred it to ■ relative. He was despised by Mr. Ward, but much dreaded for his violence by Mr. Pontet, who ■ in collision with him, because he took advantage of Mr. Ward's hasty proceedings of 1833 to attach to Sankara the portion of *tappah* Marpal (q.v.) between the Brahmini and Eru rivers. Mr. Pontet succeeded in regaining it. He ■ particularly abhorred by the Santals, and escaped destruction at their hands by ■ natural death, at a great age for a Paharia, in 1855 (■ Santal). He is the only instance known of ■ Māl Raja. His family married in K ■ rpal (q.v.)

SUMARPAL—Hindi and Bengali for Saurpal, the hills of the Sauria (q.v.). The hill *tappah* of Ambar (q.v.) taken by Cleveland into his Daman-i-koh. There are several points of interest about Sumarpal. It is the southernmost division of the Mālér, and on its south marches with the Māl tract, Kumarpal, in rhyme with which its name is pronounced, but is separated from Kumarpal by no natural boundaries. It is the only division of the Mālér which has a different name from the parent *pargana*, though the Mālér themselves call it Ambar. It and Kumarpal are the only ■ divisions which wholly belonged to the *parganas* to east of them with no share in them held by the *parganas* ■ their west. The causes appear to be the Bhuiya invasion. The Bhuiya *pargana* Passai (q.v.) subtends Sumarpal ■ the west. It occupies the ground covered by the obliterated Katauri Chiefship Usila, which probably had its share in the hills like Barkop, Patsanda and Manihari. The most likely cause for the Bhuiya invasion stopping at the hills is the influence of the Brahmans of Ambar, whom the Bhuiya ■ neo-Hindu would particularly dread. Moreover, according to the Pakur (q.v.) chronicles, the first Pande who got the gr<sup>nt</sup> of *pargana* Ambar from the Court at Gaur ■ Rajmahal in the 16th century ■ a *Rishi*. This influential character at the house of Pakur still belongs to them, and they are marked for their conduct and ability. Both Mr. Ward and Mr. Pontet reported that they had ■ influence in the hills than any other zamindar. In consequence of Mr. Ward's hasty proceedings in 1833, they managed to get from the Resumption Commissioner in 1837 ■ decree for the whole of Sumarpal. (■ Pontet and Ward.) Thus it is surmised that the hill *tappahs* of Usila and Ambar became amalgamated and



## SUMARPAL—concl'd.

received a tribal name in place of the old territorial names. The position of Kumarpal can be similarly accounted for, as the Rajputs of Sultanabad, if not as influential as the Brahmins of Ambar, had other attractions to offer.

(v. Sultana-  
bad.)

Sumarpal abounds in stories of raids, forays and fights. The great raid on *pargana* Kharakpur, reported by Cleveland as the subject of his first hill assembly, was committed by Sumarpal men. By Kharakpur is meant *pargana* Passai, then a *tappah* of Kharakpur. For the Paharia never raided their own parent *tappahs* and *parganas* except Tiliagarhi (*q. v.*) after it was taken from the Katauri Chief. The Sumarpal men have a story that they killed a wandering Englishman with an arrow, and that for this reason their lands have been given to Santals. In the main street of Passai (the capital of that *pargana*) is a lofty masonry tomb, plainly of a European, but nameless. The Passai villagers say it is that of Captain Jas. Browne, who, however, wrote his book on the Rajmahal Hills after he had finally left them in 1779.

10

SURAJBANSI—Its historical meaning, and that too in which it is intended to be used is of the race of the Kosala, the first Aryan conquerors of Oudh, whose royal family was descended from the sun. In imitation of genuine ancient Rajputs the word is assumed by all the chiefs, no matter what their race, who have affiliated themselves to Hinduism with the status of Kshatriya, except those like the Mongolian Tripura (Hill Tiperas), who claim the Lunar race. And so some of the Bhuiya peasants of Passai (*q. v.*) style themselves Surajbansi Rajputs, because the family of Lachmipur (*q. v.*) is of them.

22

SUTHERLAND—Mr. James. A Civil Servant who in 1818 was sent to enquire into the charges made against Abdul Rasul Khan, the Hill Sazawal, Cleveland's lieutenant and successor in the Daman-i-koh, and also to examine and report on that territory. The report was submitted in 1819, but owing to the troubles with the Pindaris, and then with Burma, which ended in the war, orders were not passed on it till 1825. (*v. Stipends.*) These orders resulted in Mr. Ward's being deputed to demarcate the territory. Mr. Sutherland's report was not printed till 1882, and then without editing and with many mistakes. It is a most graphic and interesting report as far as it goes, but it was not complete. It omits the Colgong (*q. v.*) hills, though Cleveland's stipends for them continued to be paid up till 1881. The extraordinary position of Sankara (*q. v.*) had been established, but Mr. Sutherland barely notices it, and left out altogether the hill territory to its south and west as far as Sundardihi in what was then Birbhum. Mr. Ward, who thought the whole hill system absurd, took advantage of these omissions to ignore all these hills in his demarcation.

7

Mr. Sutherland's is the first record that I know of, of the Santal. He calls them Soutars, and met a few individuals at the southern edge of the present Daman-i-koh. They were then known as strangers from Singhbhum, but already celebrated for their industry and expertness as field labourers.

"

The Paharias still remember Abdul Rasul Khan. They say—"After Chilmili there was Con Sahib, and then Ponteen" (Pontet). They have no recollection of Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Ward. I found the local officers believing that "Con Sahib" was a European. The title Sahib given to him in contrast to plain Chilmili and Ponteen indicates both his character and the Musulman. He died just before Mr. Sutherland's inquiry began. The Paharias cannot without difficulty pronounce an intermediate aspirate. *cf.* Boya and Khatauri.

"

SHURNOMOYEE—Maharani, M.I.O.C.I., of Kasimbazar, a lady renowned for her ability, discrimination, and magnificent benefactions. (*v. Kanta Babu*)

10

## T.

## PAGE.

TALITGARH—A large and strong fort in the open plain west of Burdwan, made by Raja Tilak Chand as a refuge against the Mahrattas ( <i>cf.</i> Kulingram)	25
TAMLUK - <i>v.</i> Tumlook	15
TAMRALIPTA—The Greek name for Tumlook ( <i>q. v.</i> )	"
TELI—The oilman caste of Bengal which, in Burdwan, contends for the headship of the Nabasakh or nine principal (or as by a contradiction in terms they call it, pure,) Sudra castes of Bengal. ( <i>v.</i> Tili)	10
TENTULIA—A division of the Bagdi ( <i>q. v.</i> )	17

## TILI—

A trading caste, the members of which in Western Bengal are always anxious to be taken for Teli, but which the Teli of Burdwan regard as far inferior to their caste and refuse to acknowledge as Nabasakh. <i>v.</i> Teli*	10
A prominent instance of the name resemblance and of trading thereon. ( <i>v.</i> Names)	"
TILIAGARHI—One of the Santal Parganas and the northernmost. ( <i>v.</i> Sonthal Parganas.) Part of the original <i>pargana</i> , however, now lies north of the Ganges in the Purnea district. The <i>pargana</i> is the most recent of the Sonthal Parganas. It was sliced out of Manihari ( <i>q. v.</i> ) and conferred in the last century on Roshan Bakht who had been a Tili. The stone fort which he built on the north face of the hills is a very flimsy structure, now intersected by the railway. It is commonly looked on as the gate between Hindustan and Bengal, and this accords with the local facts. The hill part of the <i>pargana</i> was detached by Cleveland for his Daman-i-koh. It was much frequented by him, and on the hill above the recently formed town Sahibganj, is shown the flat space on which his tent used to be pitched. Nearly all the stories of Paharia outrages and of the measures taken against them pertain to Tiliagarhi alone, and show what little hold the Tili zamindar had over the hillmen as compared with their Katura kinmen of Manihari whom he had supplanted	"
TRIBHUBAN SING—Cleveland's stipendiary sardar for the Sankara hills ( <i>v.</i> Sankara) and father of Sumar Sing ( <i>q. v.</i> ). It must have been Tribhuban Sing who, for the ends which he and his son carried out so successfully, worked on Cleveland to get <i>tappah</i> Belpatta ( <i>q. v.</i> ) transferred to Bhagalpur and included in the Daman-i-koh; for Marpal ( <i>q. v.</i> ) and Danrpai ( <i>q. v.</i> ), which were really Paharia tracts, never had sardars or chiefs	14
TUMLOOK—The English for Tamluk ( <i>q. v.</i> )	15

## U.

UGRAHA KHETRI— <i>v.</i> Aguri	18
URAON— <i>v.</i> Oraon	12
USILA—A vanished Katura chiefship, one of the four of which Manihari was the parent, which lay between Barkop on the north and Hendue ( <i>q. v.</i> ) on the south, the space now occupied by the tiny <i>pargana</i> Godda, and the great Bhuiya <i>tappah</i> Passai ( <i>q. v.</i> <i>V.</i> also Sumarpal). There is a bad mistake or confusion at page 7 of the text, so far as it appears to mean that Usila was in existence at the British accession. It had been obliterated by the Bhuiya before A.D. 1600, the date of the rise of Kharakpur ( <i>q. v.</i> )	7

\* The title taken by the Burdwan Tili is Nandi, and by the Teli, Pal, Pramanik, and Sarkar. I find that in Nadia, where there are some very affluent and influential Tili families, they hold themselves to be superior to the Teli and show much annoyance if taken for them. In Burdwan the Teli claim to be the head of the Nabasakh or nine superior Sudra castes. The Nadia Tili disavow all connection with oil-pressing.



## V.

VARDDHAMANA—The Sanskrit form of Barddhaman which the English call Burdwan . . . . .	2
VIKRAMADITYA—Legends of—at Mangalkot . . . . .	20

## W.

## WARD—

The Honourable John Petty. The self-willed and autocratic officer who demarcated the Daman-i-koh in the years 1826 to 1833, and greatly curtailed it (*v. Sutherland*). Mr. Ward, who was a brother of the third Viscount Bangor, came to India in the Civil Service in 1810. He was a very able officer, and his style of writing, which is either graphic or incisive, stands out in strong contrast with the prolixity and rhetorical flourishes of the other correspondence. His views, too were in advance of his time, and though contemptuously expressed, were distinguished by strong common sense and have been or would be all accepted since and now. He had no sympathy with Cleveland's measures (which, though by a succession of accidents continued to this day, were only intended as provisional by Cleveland himself); he wrote without hesitation of the "preposterous claims of the *Paharias*," and he curtailed the Daman-i-koh to the smallest possible limits, and obtained the passing of Regulation I of 1827, to replace Regulation I of 1796 which made such instances as the Sankara case possible (*v. Sankara*). Finally, in the teeth of the Government orders, he introduced the Santals (*v. Santal*). A valuable piece of work done by Mr. Ward while engaged on the demarcation was an inquiry into and report on the *ghatwalis* of Bhagalpur, of which there were at least three kinds. The fact of Mr. Ward's work after his retirement being so discredited probably accounts for the neglect of this report. Had it been regarded, the Bengal Government a few years later could not have incurred the scathing comments passed on it by the Privy Council in the famous appeal of Raja Khadir Ali (*q.v.*) in 1845. In 1884 a reference to this report was made, and it could not then be found in the records of the Bengal Office. There is an unattested and defective copy of it in the Dumka record-room . . . . .

13

The great differences in the method and records of the demarcation of the Daman-i-koh need accounting for. Mr. Ward began the work in Manihari (*q.v.*) in 1826, and placed his first pillar a few miles south of Pirpainti, now a railway station, and worked thence to the north and east. Each step of the first and second season's work is recorded with the utmost care, and the reports contain many interesting references to the local history. It was in this part of the work that the Colgong (*q.v.*) hills were cut off, with no report of this action (*v. Sutherland*), and with no interference with the stipends (*v. Stipends*), with the payment of which Mr. Ward in his special capacity had nothing to do. Then occurs a vast hiatus which has never been satisfactorily filled. Mr. Ward was sent to Purnea to enquire into a grave scandal affecting the Judge of that district. In 1830 he was appointed to be Commissioner of Aligarh, but did not join that appointment. His report on *Ghatwalis* shows him to have been engaged in the west of South Bhagalpur and Monghyr, and in 1830 he was Magistrate of Bhagalpur. In 1832 the Government awoke to the fact that not a fourth of the demarcation work had been done, though Mr. Ward's establishment was still retained solely for it. Explanations, recriminations, and censure followed, and the Board of Revenue deservedly came in for the greatest share of the last. The brand new Commissioner of Bhagalpur sought to make Mr. Ward answerable, but after the latter's reply, which is the most contemptuously insubordinate document, considering the position of the writer, which I have seen, there is no record of blame being affixed to him till after his



**WARD—concluded.**

retirement in 1834, when it became abundant. He was, however, ordered to complete his proceedings forthwith, and the remainder of them appear from the map, which is their only record, to have been done by a few strokes of the pen. On the east the line was drawn straight as the crow flies through Ambar and Sultanabad, severing many a hill and Paharia village, till it reached the Brahmini river. This was followed as the southern boundary, cutting off the Raogharh and Sankara hills without a word of report, and, as before, leaving them with their stipends, and then taken in a bee line north till it rejoined pillar No. 1. The Ambar Brahmans made no sign, but in 1837 obtained from the Resumption Commissioner a decree for the whole of Sumarpal (*q.v.*), thus absolutely ignoring Mr. Ward's imaginary line. Had they not so overreached themselves, they could have given much trouble about it. The proprietress of Sultanabad was an infant, and her husband, the late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Singh, a boy. Afterwards, while still a lad, he gave Mr. Pontet much assistance in securing Mr. Ward's line, which had given him several Paharia villages and an unexpected slice of territory west of the hills (*v.* Sultanabad), and this part of the line has always stood without dispute. Birbhum, of course, with so large an ~~area~~ restored to it, made no objection. Nevertheless in 1837 Mr. Pontet found it impossible to ascertain whether Mr. Ward's line northward had started from the Brahmini, or the Eru which flows into it, and Sumar Singh (*q.v.*) had taken possession of the country between these two rivers. The point was decided on finding that this strip of country belonged to Marpal (*q.v.*). The Raja of Hendue was astounded at finding a strip of the Sultanabad zamindari interposed between part of his territory and the hills. Since the defection of the Kumarpal Paharias to Sultanabad, he had reason to fear that powerful house, but the line bordering Hendue has given much trouble since. The Bhuiya of Passai were still full of gratitude for their release from the domination of Kharakpur (*v.* Lachmipur), and accepted the line. North of Passai to pillar No. 1 a fairly good natural boundary exists, but like most of the line, except the Sultanabad portion, ~~it~~ it had to be redemarcated in 1868. In 1882 the spaces ~~between~~ between the pillars were planted or sown with palmyra palms, and for some lengths with excellent results. Mr. Ward retired in much disgust in 1834 . . . . .

**Z.**

**ZABTI**—An Urdu (Arabic) word meaning, seized or confiscated. It is in allusion to Cleveland's proceedings of 1780 and 1781, the local name invariably used for the Daman-i-koh. In the south of the district it is pronounced Jubti or Juphti . . . . .